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ART. I.—CHURCH WORSHIP AND CHURCH
ORDER.

1. *Declaration of Clergy on Ritual, with the Names and Addresses of those who have signed it.* (London: W. Knott, 1903.)
2. *Statement made in Introducing the Deputation to the Archbishops.* By the Rev. H. RUSSELL WAKEFIELD. (Privately printed.)
3. *The Guardian*, July 15; *The Record*, July 17; *The Church Times*, July 17, 1903.
4. *The Church of England. An Appeal to Facts and Principles.* By the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's, and the Rev. DARWELL STONE, M.A., Principal of Dorchester Missionary College. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1903.)
5. *The Relation of Church and Parliament in regard to Ecclesiastical Discipline.* By WALTER HOWARD FRERE, of the Community of the Resurrection. (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1903.)
6. *The English Liturgy.* Being the Office for Holy Communion according to the Use of the Church of England: the Order of Administration, with the Music necessary to the Priest: the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels pointed for Singing: the Kalendar, and the Rubrics and Canons

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bearing on the Office. Together with Additional Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for the lesser Holy Days and for Special Occasions. With a Preface by the Right Reverend the LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER. Edited by PERCY DEARMER, M.A., Vicar of S. Mary the Virgin, Primrose Hill, with the assistance of WALTER HOWARD FRERE, M.A., of the Community of the Resurrection, and SAMUEL MUMFORD TAYLOR, M.A., Canon and Precentor of St. Saviour's, Southwark. (London: Rivingtons, 1903.)

7. *The Church of our Fathers.* As seen in St. Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury. By DANIEL ROCK, D.D., Canon of the English Chapter. A new edition. Edited by G. W. HART and W. H. FRERE, of the Community of the Resurrection. (London: John Hodges, 1903.)
8. *The Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers.* Edited by VERNON STALEY, Provost of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew, Inverness. *Hierurgia Anglicana.* Part I. 1902. Part II. 1903. *The First Prayer Book of King Edward VI.* 1903. (London: The De La More Press.)
9. *Choralia.* A Handy Book for Parochial Precentors and Choirmasters. By the Rev. JAMES BADEN POWELL, M.A., Exeter College, Oxford, Precentor of St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge. With an Introduction by the Rev. HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, Canon and Precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral. Second Edition. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1903.)

DURING the last two years we have refrained from making any direct comments on the various disputes which have prevailed in the Church of England. There were often many things which we should have liked to say. We were indignant at the palpable injustice of much that we heard, and at the open disloyalty exhibited in more than one direction. But when we asked ourselves the question what good anything that we said would accomplish, we felt so doubtful about the answer that the wisest course seemed to be silence.

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There are times when it is better to possess one's soul in patience, and wait until an opportunity occurs which may lead to a real solution of what lies at the root of the difficulty.

The cause of the present disputes largely is that it is impossible to govern a Church in the twentieth century by rules and laws which have been practically unchanged since the sixteenth. However excellent our judges may be, they would find it difficult to apply the law of real property in a rational manner if they had only enactments of the reign of Queen Elizabeth to interpret, no continuous tradition of cases to guide them, nor any legislation to amend their decisions. The real question before the Church is, How ought Divine Service to be conducted so as to promote, in the very widest sense of the word, the edification of the people? The apparent question is, What is the interpretation of certain rubrics passed some hundreds of years ago, which were probably in many cases intended from the first to be ambiguous? The Church services for each age ought to be settled by the living voice of the Church; nor will our present difficulties cease until we have a living voice.

But two recent events have suggested hopes that we may be on lines which may lead eventually to a settlement. One is the *Declaration of Clergy on Ritual*, with the Archbishops' reply; the other is the combined meeting of the two Houses of Convocation and the Houses of Laymen on the question of a National Synod. The two suggest that there is a real desire for some expression of the corporate voice of the Church, and that until such a clear expression of opinion is obtained a *modus vivendi* is quite possible. On the question of a National Synod we have already expressed our opinion.¹ We propose now to discuss the chief points raised by the *Declaration*, and to examine shortly some of the various questions concerning public worship which call for solution.

The aim of the *Declaration*, which had obtained over four thousand signatures, including many that, particularly in this

¹ See the *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. lvi., No. 112, July 1903, pp. 419 sq.

connection, were very weighty, is stated to be to 'maintain the Faith, promote the peace of the Church, strengthen the hands of the Bishops in securing obedience to the Church's laws, and to reassure the minds of those of the faithful laity who may be disquieted by present difficulties'; it is, in fact, made quite clear to the world that the High Church party is, and always has been, intensely loyal to the Church of England, and that the small number of those who are not loyal to it have not the sympathy of the great bulk of the clergy. They may have opinions of their own about the interpretation of rubrics or the authority of the state courts, or the exact meaning of canonical obedience, but on the question of loyalty to the Church they have no doubt at all. Nothing could be clearer or more definite than the words of Canon Body:

'We affirm in the most emphatic terms our unlimited loyalty to the Church of England as the God-commissioned Church of this realm. We believe it to be the representative to us of the Church of Pentecost, the *Ecclesia Anglicana* of English history. We believe that this Church passed through the crises of the Reformation with her Catholic character preserved, and hence loyalty to her is with us an essential condition of our obedience to Him Who is her King and Supreme Head—our Master, Christ. We affirm as a necessary condition of Catholic obedience the recognition of the authority of our Bishops as over us by the will of the Lord, and we desire to submit ourselves in accordance with our ordination vows to their godly judgment. Without the recognition of such an obedience the associated life of the Church seems to us to be an impossibility. One basis of such association must be conformity to the common law, and such a law is practically non-existent unless it has its authoritative interpreters. Obedience must be given to the decisions of such interpreters, not because they are of necessity infallible, but because they are authoritative. We are not seeking to bring the faith, life, and worship of the English Church into conformity with that of the Roman Church of to-day . . . Nor are we seeking to reintroduce the worship of the un-Reformed Church of England. Our desire is to be loyal to the Reformation settlement . . . as it is in the Book of Common Prayer. Some of us may believe that there are some things in which the Prayer Book might more fully correspond to the primitive standard to which it appeals . . . But we accept unreservedly the limitation obedience involves, and we seek to conform absolutely to our own Prayer Book.'

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In this connection we should like to quote also some very weighty words of Canon Newbolt and Mr. Darwell Stone in their important pamphlet on *The Church of England*:

'The English Church . . . voices to us the Catholic Church, appeals to us in clear tones, emphasizing a definite position, claims to have made such alterations, as were made, with a certain end in view, with her eye on the primitive Church, and with a determination to preserve all laudable practices of the whole Catholic Church. . . . Our difficulties arise now from the fact that this attitude is not accepted, and that in its place has arisen the dangerous and anomalous contention that the English Church, or rather the Church in England, is committed to an untenable position; that she only represents so many dioceses of the Western Church, and may well be arraigned on the charge of schism. . . . Therefore it is the duty of all those who owe allegiance to the Catholic Church, to ignore all the peculiarities and crotchets of a pseudo-Anglicanism, and to take advantage of troublous times to make a series of expeditions into the regions of pure Catholicism, and annex privately such portions of the heritage as those who live in England seem to have been deprived of, to dwell in them, to obtain squatters' rights, and then at last, by persistence and threats, to obtain Episcopal recognition and public toleration for their annexations. The result of this policy has been and must be disastrous; in grasping at the shadow of "Catholic privileges," we have lost the essential principle of Catholicism, "obedience to authority."

'The Prayer Book, in the preface, practically says that the Church of England has abolished no ecumenical custom. If A or B thinks that she has so abolished a laudable practice, it is not open to him to correct the Church of England in that particular, any more than a Roman priest who conscientiously objected to refuse the chalice to the laity, could supplement his defective Catholicity from the Anglican or Eastern Churches, and yet remain in the Roman obedience. It is the Church in the exercise of her collective authority who must decide these things. And that is the point to which all effort should be directed, how to secure the expression of the living voice of the Church, instead of in the direction of individual reformation.'¹

From the preamble of the *Declaration* we pass to the first clause, which runs as follows:

'We affirm our sense of the sacred obligation imposed by the

¹ *The Church of England*, pp. 3-6.

declaration made by the clergy under Canon XXXVI. not to alter the services in the Prayer Book by unsanctioned omissions, or by any additions which hinder the service, or which suggest its insufficiency; nor to introduce other services or prayers without the authority of the Bishop.'

It is probable that we should have drafted the clause, if we had been asked to do so, somewhat differently, but with its general meaning we are in perfect agreement. More important, however, than the *Declaration* is the manner in which the Archbishop dealt with it. We quote his words:

'I have been a little surprised not to notice either in the *Declaration* itself, or in any of the speeches which have been made to-day, any allusion to the extremely significant fact of the alteration that was made in those terms of subscription in the year 1865. Some of those who are in the room to-day—I hope that I am not imputing to them greater age than they have—must, I think, have signed that declaration originally in a different form from that in which it is signed to-day, and without the final words which are there now. You signed long ago "that in public prayer and administration of the sacraments I will use the form prescribed in the said book, and none other." In the year 1865 there were added the words "except so far as shall be sanctioned by lawful authority." Is not that really an answer to those people of whom we have been told to-day, that they declined to sign the *Declaration* because they thought that it ran counter to even such a thing as the use of a hymn-book. The lawful living authority of the Bishops with whom, if anything rests, that kind of lawful authority ought to rest, has sanctioned variations of the one kind, and has not sanctioned variations of another kind; and I value that clause added at that period, and I think you will value it partly because it supports the very cause that you have come here to-day to plead; and I value it because it strikes the keynote which, I think, must at this particular juncture of our Church's life, ring through all our actions—that some living authority should deal with the necessary elasticity as to minor matters in our Church's order and systems, that living authority being the Bishop of each diocese. That seems to me to be the value of that particular clause; and when that canon and the declaration which it contains are referred to, I am always anxious that that should be borne in mind. Never was it more vital than it is now, when we are dealing with rubrics of so long ago, that there should be that reasonable elasticity made possible which the words of that declaration are deliberately in-

tended, as I believe, to cover and to emphasize when it is made. I venture to think, if I may say it with all respect, that my honoured friend, Canon Jelf, in the words that he used about some declaration (I do not know what it was) that had been made by some Bishop that something was not prohibited, was not probably quite taking it for granted, as I should take it for granted, that such a declaration was made subject to the reasonable elasticity that must govern the interpretation of every working rule as regards details in its practical performance; and I should be amazed indeed if I were to learn that any Bishop now in England would make a moment's difficulty as to such a case as he referred to, of the celebration of Holy Communion going forward for two communicants rather than three in such circumstances as he has described to us to-day. I should be amazed to learn it, and it is certainly the first time that I have ever heard it. Nothing would be further from my own idea in every possible way, and I have said so publicly and privately again and again.'

Now the importance of these words lies in the fact that the Archbishop is prepared to accept the responsibility of exercising a dispensing power. The duty of the clergy is, as is well known, and as is clearly recognized by every High Churchman, to say the services exactly as they are ordered in the Prayer Book. But this, as a matter of fact, no one does. We have never yet attended a service (as far as we can recollect) in which the Prayer Book was exactly obeyed, and the service given without additions or omissions exactly according to the Rubrics. Nor is any school of thought in the Church free from such irregularities. It would be a very great gain if it were to be definitely recognized that no variations of any sort should be allowed except with the express permission of the Bishops. We are not now considering points of doubtful interpretation, but those in which there can be no doubt. The omission for example of the exhortations at the Communion Service is clearly irregular. The Bishop, therefore, should give his express leave for their omission at ordinary services, and in doing so might order them to be used on certain occasions. They certainly ought to be read sometimes in every parish church. We have taken an illustration from a point of not very great importance, but the same principle is capable of further expansion. We believe that it would be very desirable for

many reasons that permission should be given to omit the Athanasian Creed on Easter Day; but its use on Trinity Sunday should be insisted on universally.

Before we proceed further we will quote another extract on the subject. We have received a very beautifully printed edition of the Communion Service edited by Mr. Percy Dearmer containing Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for the Black Letter Saints and other days. The preface is by the Bishop of Rochester, who writes there in defence of the book:

'After a time, in which enrichment and flexibility in the public services had been eagerly pursued, the need of control became both practically and liturgically urgent, and authority had to insist somewhat austere-ly on adherence to the Book of Common Prayer. . . . But if a rule is to be applied strictly, there is the more reason for interpreting it amply and inclusively. This gives to the purpose of this book its other side. It might be held, for example, that the rule of using the Order of Holy Communion without alteration forbids the use of any other Collects or even other Epistles and Gospels than the book contains. But it is at least as allowable to say that the service is not "altered" because the Scriptures used for Epistle and Gospel are "varied" as the Prayer Book itself constantly varies them. . . . Anyhow history, precedent, and recent episcopal and synodical authority have all alike ruled in favour of the more elastic alternative.'

And later on he writes :

'I do but express the judgment of the editors themselves as well as my own when I point out that most of it, at least, cannot rightly be used in particular dioceses without the authority of the ordinary. . . . Personally I do not desire the association of my name with the book to be interpreted as giving my sanction within my own diocese for use of all its parts, in all places, and at any time.'

Now we quote this because it gives us another instance of a Bishop accepting the obligations to regulate by his authority additional services in his diocese, and that not merely in a purely negative direction. Both these are instances of the acceptance by the Bishops of the one definite principle of public worship which is undoubtedly Catholic, the *ius liturgicum* of the Bishops. Except so far as he is limited by the law and order of the Church, it is the duty of

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the Bishop to regulate the services in every church of his diocese. He cannot order anything contrary to the Prayer Book, nor need any clergyman obey him if he does, (we are still avoiding questions of interpretation), but no one may deviate from that order without his sanction, nor add anything, even hymns, without his approval, nor except where he approves. We believe that if this principle were wisely acted upon it would be found to correct more effectually each year the irregularities which attend the administration of public worship. We shall recur later to the principles on which we believe that a Bishop should in these circumstances act.

We pass now to the second clause in the *Declaration* :

'We declare our belief that the Ornaments Rubric retains the ceremonial system which was lawful under the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., and that for the peace of the Church this ought to be frankly recognized as a lawful inheritance in the English Church, while at the same time the lesser ceremonial usage which has so widely prevailed ought, as resting on custom, to be equally recognized.'

The wording of this clause is even less happy than that of the preceding, and we hardly think that either of the Archbishops has really seized what we believe to be the point of the *Declaration*. Its aim is in the first place to exclude definitely the suggested interpretation which would make the Ornaments Rubric legalize the system prevailing before the introduction of the First Prayer Book, in fact almost the whole mediæval system. This interpretation, as Canon Body points out, is not really for a moment tenable :

'We do not hold that the Ornaments Rubric . . . allows all the Ornaments in use before the publication of the Prayer Book of 1549 to be employed for the purposes for which they were formerly in use, so as in effect to reinstate all the ceremonies then observed. This does not seem to us to be an equitable or reasonable interpretation of the rubric. The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer definitely speaks of some ceremonies as abolished. We hold that the rubric directs that the Ornaments required for the due execution of the rites contained in the Book of Common Prayer shall be those which were

used for the like purposes at the date assigned—*i.e.* in the Reformed Prayer Book of 1549.'

But when that is excluded there are still two antagonistic interpretations, each held so tenaciously as to create a situation with which it is very difficult to deal.

We do not think that the remarks of the Archbishop on this clause were particularly happy, or quite worthy of the occasion :

'When you say, "We declare our belief that the Ornaments Rubric" does so-and-so, I am quite sure that you would be the last to wish to lead me to suppose that all the four thousand men who signed this have really studied the immensely voluminous literature which exists upon this very disputable phrase.' (Laughter).

This is rather a cheap score. Of course, the larger number of those who signed have not felt called upon to study the subject at first hand, although, as a matter of fact, the relevant points are not so hard to master ; but, for all that, they may be quite capable of appreciating the practical situation. The majority of them probably are not in the habit of wearing the Eucharistic vestments ; a large number have very little desire to introduce them ; but they do not believe that it is possible to regulate the worship of the Church by judicial decisions which cannot in any case be considered clear and free from doubt.

There are certain points which are obvious. The meaning of the Ornaments Rubric has been argued before the Courts six times, and has been decided three times in one way, three times in another. The last decision condemned the Ornaments ; but it is widely believed, even by those who have no desire to introduce them, that a new decision might reverse the last. The Archbishop pointed out that it was quite possible that if our knowledge on the subject has, as is believed, increased, the 'new light' will be recognized and the Edwardine Ornaments allowed. Now, a cynic might suggest at the present day, as he might have suggested in the case of the Lincoln Judgment, that the 'new light' was a fairly reasonable pretext to cover what was really a change of policy. For, after all, a judge may be very capable and

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quite honest, but his wisdom and his wishes cannot help influencing his decision in a subject so uncertain as to be incapable of really scientific investigation. But we will assume that this is not so, and we are left with this, that the ceremonial of the Church is to be dependent on the exact stage of archæological knowledge which has been reached in a certain number of very doubtful legal points. This is clearly an intolerable position. Then, again, no one will accept the decision if he does not agree with it. There are a large number of deans and bishops who have never worn copes in their cathedrals, although legally they undoubtedly ought to do so. Supposing what we may for convenience call the ritualistic interpretations of the rubric were upheld, it would imply that the Ornaments were compulsory. But no Evangelical would for a moment obey such a decision. He would devote all his energies to getting it reversed. Supposing the decision were given the other way, the Ritualist would naturally claim the same right to disobey as the Evangelical does when decisions do not please him. The question has reached a point where no legal decision can settle it, where for the present no decision is possible; where even supposing that legislation were possible, it would not be considered desirable by any one wishing to preserve the unity of the Church of England. You cannot abolish vestments at once, even if you wished. There are many churches where they have been used regularly for fifty years. They are used in many places with the quite general acceptance of the people. They are often introduced into new places not against but in accordance with the wish of the people. No one with any statesmanship would desire to change all this.

What then is possible? The Bishops must accept openly and clearly the situation in which they have practically acquiesced. They must, in a case where there is so much doubt, be prepared to recognize both uses; and where circumstances justify it, they will allow the Edwardine Ornaments. But they must reserve to themselves the right to decide, after consultation with the lay communicants of the parish, and, considering all the circumstances, where they will allow them to be introduced or discontinued. Vestments are not

essential to a valid Sacrament, nor the absence of vestments ; what is essential is that the service should be for edification, and whether it is so or not the Bishop should be left to decide.

If this is done, a good deal of the friction on the part of those who have made the vestments a sign of Catholicity will cease, and the Church will gradually be able to make up its mind as to the use that it will adopt. We imagine that there are two tendencies which will largely influence the ultimate decision. On the one side there is, we believe, a strong love of simplicity in worship in the English mind ; on the other it will be felt, as the Bishop of Southwell reminds us, that a special vestment for the Holy Communion is seemly and right, and that the traditional vestments of the Church are *prima facie* the most suitable. How the Church will ultimately decide we cannot say ; but it is one of the points on which uniformity is least of all essential. The Canons concede the principle of variety by ordering copes in cathedrals, and not in parish churches, and it is quite possible that it may come to be recognized that greater simplicity is desirable in village churches than in cathedrals and the large town parishes.

The third clause of the *Declaration* runs as follows :

‘We desire to express our belief that the future welfare of the English Church largely depends, under God, on the complete restoration of the synodical action of the Church. We should therefore welcome any measures for promoting this end which may be taken constitutionally, safeguarding the duties and rights of clergy and laity alike. Pending such measures, and as a step towards the recovery of discipline, we submit that on matters which may arise requiring to be dealt with, and on which it is not possible at the present time to get the judgment of the Church as a whole, the admonitions and requests of the Bishops, acting in formal consultation with their clergy, should be obeyed.’

The first part of this resolution emphasizes what we have already pointed out, that the present difficulties arise from the absence of any proper legislative body. There will be no final solution of some of these questions until such a body has been constituted, with the confidence of the Church as a whole, and capable of expressing the living voice of the

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Church. As Mr. Frere has shown in a pamphlet on *The Relation of Church and Parliament in regard to Ecclesiastical Discipline*, which is among the books that we have quoted at the head of our article, it is the violation of constitutional usage which has been one of the chief causes of the evils which have prevailed in the Church. But we have not yet our National Synod, and there are many points which do not need legislation, but only direction. What is possible at present? The resolution mentions as a temporary expedient what we believe ought to be the normal custom. The Bishop should arrange the services of the church after consultation with his clergy, and, we may add, not as a constitutional principle, but as a wise precaution in many cases, with the laity also. The Bishop is in essence the parish priest of every church; the parish priest is only his delegate, who, except so far as the orders of the Prayer Book extend, should do as the Bishop directs; but the whole body of the presbyters were always in primitive times the council of the Bishop, and it would not be either wise or right for him to act until he had so consulted them. It appeared to us singularly ill-advised in the Bishop of Winchester to approach his new diocese with what had the appearance of being a sort of imperial ukase in disputed matters. If a Bishop wants the loyal and hearty co-operation of the great bulk of the clergy, let him consult them in synod from time to time; let him act (if he thinks it wise to act) with the expressed voice of the greater number of the clergy behind him; and let the minority, however small, have the opportunity of putting their case before their Bishop and their brother clergy. His directions will then have very much greater weight; a discussion of the principles of public worship will be immensely instructive to all who take part in it, and those who do not agree will be much more likely to acquiesce loyally in his decision, when their voice has been heard, and when in the future they may have other opportunities of making their opinions prevail.

We must make, however, a clear and emphatic protest against a suggestion made by Prebendary Montagu Villiers that the clergy consulted should be the prebendaries in larger

chapters. They are exactly those whom it is useless to consult. They are all episcopal nominees, and would have no weight at all in representing the clergy with whom it is most difficult to deal. The clergy summoned to the synod should be all the priests of the diocese, beneficed or unbeficed. In most dioceses the number is not too great for this to be possible. If the whole diocese cannot be summoned at once, at any rate they can be summoned by archdeaconries. In London special arrangements would have to be made. The synod would be a solemn gathering: it might very suitably be held in the nave or transept or Lady chapel of the cathedral. The Bishop would then put before the clergy for discussion just the questions concerning which there were disputes in the Church, and, having heard their advice, he would, according to his discretion, embody it in directions for the whole diocese. In this he would be guided by the opinions of the other Bishops. When he had decided on the general principles on which he wished to act, he should appoint a committee of the more learned clergy and liturgiologists to draw up such directions as were required for the conduct of worship. It has always seemed to us that one of the greatest mistakes that our English Bishops have made has been that, whether in drawing up special directions for service, or in arranging special services, they have despised or neglected the assistance of just those who have studied the subject; they have in consequence often made mistakes, and their authority has been weakened. A liturgiologist, like a musician, is often one of the worst persons to arrange services, because he is not sufficiently in contact with the popular mind, but a wise Bishop would use the services of both, and adapt their suggestions to what he would consider to be the needs of the people.

In some such way as this a series of diocesan 'uses' would be developed which by consultation between the bishops would become a national 'use.' And the very great irregularities of our services in which everyone does what seems right in his own eyes might be checked. Rules thus drawn up would be very elastic. The Bishop, on whose authority they were based, might either dispense in any particular

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place the clergy from obeying them, or they might be changed where necessary without difficulty. Coming with the authority of the Bishops and the synod of the diocese they would demand loyal acceptance on the part of the clergy and in almost all cases would receive it.

We can now sum up the principles upon which we may believe that Church order may be restored :

(1) Except so far as he is limited by the law of the Church contained in the Prayer Book or other authoritative document, the Bishop is the supreme and absolute liturgical officer for every church in his diocese which is not a Peculiar.

(2) That the Prayer Book extends to him the interpretation of doubtful points in the Rubrics, except possibly so far as there is an authoritative decision by the Archbishop.

(3) That in dealing with a book which has not been revised for over two hundred years a certain dispensing power in relation to the orders of the Prayer Book is necessary and is clearly recognized as necessary by the form in which the declaration of assent is now required. This dispensing power lies in the hands of the Bishops.

In exercising this liturgical authority the Bishop should be guided :

(1) By consultation with his brother Bishops, so as if possible to make the practice of different dioceses uniform ;

(2) By consultation with the clergy in synod assembled ;

(3) By the advice of liturgiologists and other learned clergy whom he may select ;

(4) By the desires of the laity, *i.e.* the lay-communicants of the Church, especially in the case of any particular parish into which he is called.

The adoption of some such course as this would mean that the Bishop would take his proper place not as an inconvenient police officer, but as the source of 'liturgical order.' It is the Bishop of London and not Mr. Wickham-Legg, or Mr. Percy Dearmer, or Lady Wimborne, who should control the services of his diocese. How much injury has been done by the ignorant dogmatism of foolish clergy or still more foolish laymen or laywomen ! One of the few Bishops who have recognized their duty adequately in this respect is the

Bishop of Salisbury, to whom we are indebted for many wise directions as to the conduct of public service. One small point will show what may be done. A great many clergy naturally have some doubt as to what to do when two festivals clash. Which lessons are they to read, which Collect, Epistle, and Gospel? The proper person to decide is the Bishop. But, so far as we are aware, no Bishop has ever done so. The result is that the clergy have recourse to a number of unauthorised calendars, which in this matter revive all the 'rules called the Pie' that our Prayer Book very rightly wished to do away with. But we find a perfectly simple table, published in the edition of the Communion Service mentioned above, which was drawn up by Convocation in 1879. Why should not each Bishop issue this as his directions? If it is found incorrect or inconvenient he can change it; as it is, it gives a simple rule and will produce a uniform practice. This is a small point; but the columns of the *Guardian* bear witness each year to the fact that it interests the clergy greatly.

While the Bishop must fulfil his part wisely, the clergy must give, as they ought, absolute obedience to his directions. This obedience is quite compatible with protest, and with attempts to get the rule changed, but when the Bishop has spoken authoritatively the obedience on the part of the clergy should be absolute. We are not at all certain that it will not ultimately be found that disobedience will come from the quarter least expected. Such a system as we have described ought to mean levelling up as well as levelling down, and we remember the indignant protest made by a leading Evangelical who, in the midst of his attacks on the disobedience of other clergy, was rightly rebuked by his Bishop for mutilating the Communion Service. Obedience to the Bishop will have to be loyal and universal, and the acquiescence of High Churchmen in the rulings of Bishops with which they do not agree must be balanced by the consent of the Low Churchmen to conform to the diocesan rule.

For the future corporate action will have to be substituted for private enterprise. It will be slower, but it will be more effective. It may be that a considerable number of church-

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men may demand certain changes. In the future their course will be, not to disobey their Bishop or to start new practices contrary to his orders but, to educate public opinion, and to put forward their views at synods or other meetings of the clergy and laity. The change will then come when public opinion is prepared for it, and the opposition will be as ineffective as it was in the surplice riots, for surplices in the pulpits, it must be remembered, were introduced with the authority of the Bishops. The results of private enterprise have been admirably described by Canon Newbolt and Mr. Stone :

‘It may further be doubted whether the advantages secured by private enterprise have been so conspicuous as they are asserted to be. English people have learnt to tolerate certain things which once roused them to frenzy and riot, from the surplice in the pulpit to the Eucharistic vestments, but correspondingly they have not learnt to desire instruction, but to despise sermons ; neither as a body do they appreciate the Eucharistic sacrifice, however much many of them may rejoice in the accessories which symbolize that doctrine. It is quite open to any one to say that the victories won in persistent opposition to the Bishops have been dearly won, and that the fault has been by no means all of it on the side of the Bishops. Certainly no one can say that the course of the Catholic movement, as it is called, has been a happy one ; the positions have been carried at tremendous loss, a party has been pushed through like a wedge driven broadside foremost, and in some cases hopeless indifference has been mistaken for acquiescence, and a chasuble and Eucharistic lights accepted as compensations for an attenuated flock which has been either starved or overdriven. Can any one say that the education and spiritual attainments of the people, even when they are not actively hostile, are up to the same level as the outward symbols of advance ? Restored ritual and restored Catholicity have not gone hand-in-hand, and the reason is that the sense of authority has been weakened by opposition to the Bishops, and that ritual and doctrinal changes have been accepted in too many cases, out of deference to the wishes of a popular priest, as part of “his way,” which, with many other things, must be put up with ; while in other cases a violent outbreak of Protestant fanaticism merely means that the unpopular “ways” of a priest generally disliked have been assailed at the point of least resistance. The whole of the later developments of the Catholic revival are characterized by the weakness which always waits on

individualism. It would surely seem to be of the most vital importance to recall men's minds to a truer and more dignified conception of the English Church as such, not as something to be apologized for, minimized, or even ridiculed, but in the spirit of those who would say, *Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν κόσμει.*

In some such way as has been suggested, and making use of the definite Catholic principle—the Liturgical authority of the Bishop, a system of English Church worship should be developed, based on the historical principles of the English Church. To such principles both the slovenliness of the eighteenth century and the ecclesiastical anarchy of the nineteenth are equally abhorrent, and although the latter may have been a process necessary for restoring forgotten elements of decency and order, it is quite intolerable as a permanent principle. In some way or other, then, an orderly system of Church worship ought to be evolved.

But when we have said that, we are only at the beginning of our difficulties, and we propose to discuss certain principles which will have to be kept in mind. To begin with, the services must be for edification. But edification depends entirely on the people to be edified, and varies with temperament, with class, and with training. Fundamentally there are two different types. There is the Puritan and the Ceremonialist. To some minds the thought of all that religion implies arouses such tremendous emotions of awe and reverence that all outward expression of their spiritual feelings will seem insignificant and inappropriate. By the most absolutely simple worship, by the plainest unadorned service, by the severest architecture, some men feel that God will be honoured most.

But there are others again who would feel that the most elaborate music, the most costly ornaments, the most elaborate ceremonial, the most beautiful buildings will alone express their devotion. Both these types of feelings are in a sense right and true; they may even, strange as it may seem, coexist in the same person. There is no service in any church more severe than the ordinary early celebration which is looked upon as the distinctive note of ritualism, and there are few persons who would not feel that a Coronation or

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some other great service would be fittingly celebrated with pomp and circumstance. The error that has prevailed in recent years has been a constant tendency to forget the fitness of things. When the slovenliness of the old era was broken down, it was quite unnecessary to disturb the simplicity of the village church, to introduce cathedral music and the elaboration of a town parish where everything should be natural and simple. In declaring that copes should be worn in cathedrals and not in parish churches, the Canons lay down a principle which is capable of wider application. Nor, again, is it always necessary to have the same elaborateness of ceremony. In many churches, what was at first done only on great festivals became normal. Ceremonies were found attractive occasionally, and it was thought that they would always help to fill the church. The result has too often been to create a feeling of weariness at all services.

A second point to remember is that the religious mind is intensely conservative. Men dislike, often very intensely, any change in the religious habits in which they have been brought up. There are probably times in all parishes when a complete change may be necessary and right in order to break down old and bad ways, but generally there ought to be the very greatest respect for religious prejudice. Dr. Pusey, we believe, never adopted the Eastward position in Christ Church Cathedral when Dr. Ogilvie or Dr. Heurtley was present. Yet it is now introduced heedlessly and thoughtlessly in many a parish church in which different customs have always prevailed and where the people have never been prepared for that or any such position. And this is typical of much. A young clergyman comes to a church where Anglican music has been used, where the congregation is large and devout, and has always felt that the music was responsive to their religious needs; without any consideration for others he introduces plain-song chants, adding insult to the injury that he has done to acquired religious habits by saying that Anglican chants are so irreverent that he cannot endure them. In earlier days changes in the services of parishes were often only gradually introduced, for the clergyman learnt (often very badly) and

taught the people as he went on. Now the curate or young vicar comes to a parish fresh from the system (often excellent in itself) of his theological college, or the ritual of some big church in London or Cardiff or some other city, and imposes all his ideas indiscriminately on the people.

In reading the accounts of the festival services at theological colleges, we notice again and again such statements as the following: 'The music was Merbecke,' 'Matins was said at 7.30, and was followed by a celebration of the Holy Eucharist, sung to Field in F, but with Merbecke's Gloria,' 'the procession included Cross and banner, many clergy in robes, Bishops in cope and mitre,' and so on. Now we imagine that these services were as good and as imposing examples of the very best Anglican worship as is possible; the students would feel rightly proud of what had aroused in them, and responded to, deep religious feeling; they would be anxious to carry out the ideal thus presented in their own parish with perhaps a few additional ritualistic details, and they would forget how strange and unaccustomed such a service would seem to many an English congregation. They could not understand 'Merbecke,' nor would they like it; the hymns would be new and unaccustomed; the ordinary communicant would feel the whole service strange. People whose habits were formed in the old-fashioned English service, or whose ideal was a P.S.A., would be simply unresponsive. We have taken our illustration from services which any Bishop would sanction, and which any educated churchman would thoroughly appreciate, because we have often noticed how very little they would really respond to the feelings of an ordinary country congregation.

And this leads us on to the difficult question of music. Regarding this, we must thoroughly endorse all that has been said recently by the Bishop of Worcester on this subject. There is, so far as we can judge, nothing that has done more harm in recent years to English Church services than the tyranny of the organist and choir, except possibly the badness of the preaching. There are three things that an average working-man—it may be true, indeed, of the average Englishman of every class—demands if he is to go to church.

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He demands a well-preached sermon which he can understand ; he demands hymns with tunes that he knows, and a service in which he can join without feeling uncomfortable and out of place ; he demands a seat in church not too conspicuous, where he can sit without any risk of being disturbed. In many churches he meets with none of these things. The sermons are poor, the music is incomprehensible and tedious to the last degree, and some one turns him out of his place shortly after he has entered and says that it is his seat.

Amongst the books which we have placed at the head of our article is one called *Choralia*, by Mr. Baden Powell, of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. It is the work of an experienced choirmaster, and if rightly used might be of great value. If the object of Divine worship were the performance of good music it would be admirable. As it is, we fear that the ideal it suggests is just that which is disastrous to the English Church services. Two or three quotations will be sufficient :

'A service which is diluted, as to its music, *to what only the congregation can join in*, and costs the choir neither pains nor trouble, is one which seems very much to stand on a level with Cain's offering.' 'This is essential where it is wished that a congregation should sing a hymn or certain verses alone, *and very fine effects can be obtained in this way.*'

The italics are our own. The only idea that the writer seems to have is the production of musical effects. He quite forgets that what is important is the hearty expression of religious feeling, and that may be just as valuable if the voices of the congregation are harsh and untrained. Again, he writes, 'that unfortunate conglomeration of noise which has sometimes been called a "hearty" service.' Let him remember that a hearty service means that everyone in the church is expressing his devotion in the best way that he can, and let him learn not to despise the musically-imperfect efforts of real religion. To those who are not very musical there is a tediousness and often an irreverence in the elaborate musical services which are so common nowadays—whether they are well or ill sung—which is not in the

least realized by the musician who lives very much in a circle of his own, but we are quite certain that this is one of the main causes of the inadequate attendance at so many London churches. We have not space to develop this topic further, we should only like to mention one further fact. We very much doubt whether—particularly in the country—the great development of the habit of intoning the service is wise. In a cathedral or a large city church intoning is necessary, in a village church we believe a *read* service is infinitely more impressive. Are there not many persons who have memories of some old clergyman, the sound of whose voice still lingers in their ears, whose cultivated, reverent, earnest, clear reading, neither unctuous nor theatrical, is one of their holiest recollections? And when they contrast with that the mechanical thin-voiced intoning followed by the noisy response of the choir, or the irreverent, incoherent gabbling which they often hear, they wonder whether the introduction of the choir into parishes, and the formal habit of saying offices, are after all such unmixed benefits.

So far we have spoken of edification. Another point we should wish to raise is the need of uniformity. It would be perfectly easy to be uniform if there were no need for edification, but as congregations, classes, and individuals have different aspirations, the difficulty is to combine these two principles. From one point of view we require the abolition of the Act of Uniformity and greater freedom and elasticity; from another point of view we demand order and rule in place of the present chaos. It is not our purpose to solve the problem, but only to state it.

Let us take the Holy Communion. The divergence between different types has become so great that it becomes difficult for any one trained in one church to worship in another. We may take an illustration:

‘I was brought up as a sound High Churchman,’ writes one man, ‘and I am inclined to be very tolerant in ritual matters, but my temper was thoroughly roused the other day. I was at a Saint’s Day celebration at the English church in a small Italian town, where the English community were courteously allowed the use of a building belonging to the Waldensians. The name of the celebrant I do not

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know. Vestments (which personally I should be inclined to allow) were not worn, but it was difficult to recognize the service. First there was a long period of silence, during which it was obvious that the introductory portions of the Roman rite were being said with the appropriate ritual. When the English office began there was a low murmur, but although I was quite close to the celebrant I could not hear anything. Throughout the whole service the celebrant faced East, with his head generally bent over the altar, except that during the Gospel there was a slight inclination to the North. The Collect and Epistle were said continuously with the same voice, as if they were all one prayer, and it was quite impossible to know when one was finished and the other began. No notice at all was taken of the congregation, and the pace was that of a clerk reading a formal legal document. The result was to me a frame of mind not at all proper for the purpose for which I had come to church; and as I went away I felt great sympathy for my Protestant friends who find it so difficult to communicate in many English churches.'

But now let us hear a voice on the other side :

'We have a new clergyman here whose mode of celebrating is almost intolerable. We had been used to a simple ritual, and the people expected everything to be done nicely. Proper altar linen had been provided by voluntary gifts, but he dispenses with the use of it, as also he does with a cassock, nor does he consider it necessary to keep his hands clean. We still have an 8 o'clock celebration, but it generally begins with the Offertory, all the earlier part of the service being omitted. The "priest" not only does not take the Eastward position, but sprawls offensively over the altar, and obviously desires by a vulgar irreverence to show his impatience of any superstitious usage. At the end of the service he makes no ablutions in church, and we understand leaves the vessels to be cleaned by the clerk. Many of the people have left off communicating, and some of them have begun to go to the Roman Catholic church, where there is a very nice priest.'

Now, of course, we have taken two extreme instances, but do we realize what a chaos of *uses* there is? Compared with many other things, the question of vestments is in itself a small matter. One man reads so quickly that we can hardly follow him, another makes long pauses, during which we know that the imperfections of the Anglican rite are being made up for in secret. One man continuously bows, another

genuflects, a third does neither. One man gives the chalice into the hands of the worshipper, another keeps it in his own. One is decent and quiet in the administration, another repeats the words as if they were an empty form, and quite forgets the infinite meaning they should bear to each recipient; a third makes an elaborate and aggressive sign of the cross. It is very difficult for a clergyman who goes about much from parish to parish to know what to do in each place. Even among churches of the same way of thinking the 'use' varies continually. There is another series of variations which are very perplexing to an average Christian. A well-brought-up girl is in the habit of attending the Holy Communion at 8 o'clock; she has been always accustomed to receive fasting; she goes to another parish where the normal time for celebrations is at the evening service. An elderly man has been a regular communicant at the mid-day service on the first Sunday in the month for the last thirty years. A new clergyman comes, who immediately tries to prevent people from communicating at the mid-day service, and hurts his feelings inexpressibly by telling him that the first Sunday in the month is not a church festival, and asking what saint it commemorates. Very probably he says that for the last thirty years he has been guilty of sin in not communicating fasting. It is intolerable that in any church an individual clergyman should take upon himself to say that this or that custom is necessary when the Church has never said so.

There are some points on which there is no need of uniformity. The extent and character of the music and the amount of ceremonial may within certain limits be allowed to vary considerably, so long as the edification of the people is remembered. But the Church service ought to be read from beginning to end, with no addition of any sort which is not expressly authorized. If hymns are added, it should only be at suitable places. And there ought to be no long pauses, with additional matter said secretly. Then the whole service should be said or sung in a perfectly clear and audible voice, and all tendency to hurry and excessive rapidity should be checked. The question of vestments we believe to be

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unimportant ; it is quite possible for two uses to go on side by side. But we should like the question of the Eastward position to be discussed until a uniform practice prevails. The reading of the Gospel facing to the North and of the Epistle facing East are at the present day meaningless and inconvenient pieces of antiquarianism. If any ceremonial is required, it would be much better that it should take the form of a short procession to the body of the church, that they may be read where all can hear them. The rule of turning East for the prayers, and turning to the people for all portions directly addressed to them, seems to embody a wise and natural principle. On many small points, where needless elaboration has often crept in, we should like definite episcopal directions aiming at a reverent but simple custom—such as altar ornaments, altar linen, ablutions, and so on. And genuflexions and all ritual acts not ordered by the Prayer Book or necessary for the service should be forbidden. Uniformity cannot be attained at once, but if definite directions were drawn up and put before the clergy of each diocese, the great bulk of them would conform, and the laity would gladly welcome a uniform use. Up till now the only episcopal direction that the bulk of the clergy have had in liturgical matters has been to tell them what they must not do. Let an order of service be gradually developed reverent and severe, capable of being used with quiet simplicity in a village or other church where such is desired, capable of being used with a dignified if severe ceremonial in places where on occasions such is suitable, and the necessary uniformity would quickly come.

There are two other points on which we should like to touch shortly. One is the principle of historic continuity as applied to worship. A school of liturgical students has developed in recent years, which is devoting itself to determining in the most scrupulous way the exact form which the national rite should take. They are unwearied in archæological investigation. They have published or edited many interesting books and texts to illustrate the history of the English rite both before and after the Reformation. We have at present before us a reprint of the well-known work of Dr. Rock in

The Church of our Fathers, for which we have to thank Mr. Hart and Mr. Frere, and the first three volumes of the very handsome *Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology*, edited by Mr. Vernon Staley, including a reprint with additions of *Hierurgia Anglicana*, a well-known compilation of the early Tractarian period, and a new edition of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. We cannot give too much praise to the printing and general get-up of the volumes. This movement is connected particularly with the names of some well-known London clergy, and its object is to try to develop a uniform and intelligent English rite.

Now with the general aim and principle of this movement we have every sympathy. The fact of historic continuity is great and inspiring. The traditions of the Church, as of the nation, are a splendid heritage, and even though they may convey no meaning to the mass of the people, there is nothing that we should cling to more tenaciously, or desire more earnestly to realize in our worship; for it is just the idea which may at any time seize hold of the popular imagination. But when we pass to the detailed directions of our Liturgiologists, we find that there is a good deal which seems to us over-scrupulous. We are often amused at the extreme positiveness with which we are instructed by well-meaning and half-learned people on unimportant matters. And although the rites may change, the infallibility is a constant quantity. There was a time when we were considered hopelessly old-fashioned if we did not wear a stole at morning service, now we are told that to do so is an unpardonable error. A few years ago our curate would not rest until he had persuaded the ladies of the parish to work a set of silk chalice veils; our new curate tells us that the silk chalice veil is a quite unauthorized Roman innovation. He wears a very full surplice and a broad black scarf, which make him look like a Doctor of Divinity,—a mistake on our part which is very soon corrected when we hear his sermons. There is no matter too trivial for him to have an opinion on it, and hardly any point on which he does not differ from the usage which has been gradually established among us.

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pulousness and antiquarianism. For certain legal purposes it may be useful to know that a certain method of interpreting the Prayer Book prevailed in the sixteenth century. It is no doubt an interesting fact that the correct form of the English chasuble is quite different from that of Rome. But after all we are not bound by either. If there had been no violent Reformation, it is very probable that the services of the whole Western Church might in the last four centuries have changed to a very great extent. We should not be bound by the fifth, or the fifteenth, or the seventeenth century. We want the traditions of the Church interpreted by the living voice of the Church, and adapted to modern needs. We do not want antiquarianism. Nor do we feel that over-scrupulousness is right. We can well imagine some laymen to whom religion means the strong support of spiritual comfort in all the difficulties and problems and struggles of life wondering how a clergyman, on whose shoulders rests the spiritual care of so many thousand persons, is able to devote so much time to the elaborate study of such very trivial points. We have felt, too, ourselves at times a longing for some spiritual life, some reality and heartiness, when we have listened to the scrupulously correct celebration of a service with plain-song chants admirably sung, with office hymns in their correct place, with surplices and vestments according to the best British Museum pattern. The old-fashioned ritualistic service might be Roman, or vulgar, or incorrect, or anything you like, but there was a swing and a life about it which covered many defects; in an old-fashioned Anglican church our souls are stirred by the hearty singing of Dr. Dykes's hymn tunes, of which modern musicians speak so scornfully; in the Dissenting chapel we have the genuine emotionalism of Moody and Sankey; but here we feel as if we were in a museum.

We are glad of the learning and advice of the Liturgist, but we do not care for his Services.

But yet one more thought. Our aim, it is said, must always be reunion, and so we must always be trying to make our worship similar to that of the rest of Christendom, which means the Church of Rome. Here again the object is an excellent one; but the method suggested is not wise, nor will

it have the desired result. We have no doubt at all that on any tenable Catholic principles our own rite is adequate and sufficient, and if that is so we ought to be true to our inheritance. We do nothing but bring our Church into contempt by imitating in an unauthorized manner the unessential rites of other Churches. Moreover, the first duty to be accomplished as a step to reunion is to unite the English-speaking peoples in one Church which shall be strong and important enough to influence other branches of the Christian Church. It is by being strong and clear and definite on our own lines that we shall bring Christians nearer to one another, not by being untrue to our own principles. But let us quote those who can speak with much more authority than we do:

'It is not chimerical to believe that a great future may yet be open to the English Church, as a rallying-point, in ages yet to come, of possible reunion. But no reunion will be possible if any or all of the uniting bodies lose their individuality and their value. . . . If we could but recognize the fact, the Church of England has a character of her own, in parting with which she parts with a valuable possession. A Liturgy in the vernacular, popularized choir offices, a copious use of the Bible, an appeal to the intellectual rather than to the emotional side of man—to mention only a few obvious things—if frankly accepted, would be found to be features full of significance, and wholly excellent. . . . We are often told that reunion will only be brought about by a frank recognition of our errors all round; it would also be true to say, by a generous recognition of our various points of excellence. As it is, the tendency is to count all Anglican virtues to be errors, and all Roman errors to be virtues, and to imagine that Christendom is to be reunited by the total disappearance of that body which for centuries has endeavoured to make an appeal to primitive antiquity as the only basis of reunion, and which, among all the taunts levelled against isolation, has refused the *quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, without its balancing *quod semper*. . . . It would be wrong and unfaithful, in view of what God has done for us already, if any one allowed himself to be disheartened by a temporary failure, or a passing abandonment of ideals. The spirit of Catholicism must be invoked to drive out individualism, the spirit of wholehearted loyalty to drive out that form of apology which means treachery, and that form of imitation which sacrifices original worth; and then the wisdom of God, which is justified of all her children,

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will be clear and manifest in His dealings with the English people and the English Church.¹

We are foolish enough to believe, in spite of all appearances, that the reunion of English Christianity on an Anglican basis is more possible and nearer than facts might seem to justify. To attain this end, it is demanded that the English Church should be above everything true to itself: that its work in the present century should be to organize into a solid and harmonious whole all the different elements of religious life which the nineteenth century produced with such astounding prolificness. Conspicuous among its duties is that of developing for English-speaking races a system of worship true to historical tradition, Catholic in every essential, simple, dignified, severe, responding to the deepest needs of the human heart, satisfying the Puritan by its simplicity, the Ceremonialist by its order and dignity, weaving into one harmonious whole all the spiritual traditions of the inheritance of our Fathers.

ART. II.—THE GOLDEN LEGEND.

La Légende Dorée. Par le Bienheureux JACQUES DE VORAGINE. Traduite du Latin d'après les plus anciens manuscrits, avec une Introduction, des Notes, et un Index Alphabétique. Par TEODOR DE WYZEMA. (Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1902.)

WE question whether it would be possible to meet with a volume of professedly Christian literature which transports the reader to an atmosphere more strangely different from that of our time than the *Golden Legend* of the Blessed Jacobus de Voragine. The author, described as a saint and one of the most learned men of his day, is separated *toto caelo* from the mental standpoint of the twentieth century. His standard of holiness, his overpowering love of the marvellous, his entire lack of the critical faculty, his un-

¹ Newbolt and Stone, *The Church of England*, p. 46.

hesitating adoption of the most incredible legends gathered indiscriminately from diverse sources, are but typical examples of the tone and spirit of the mediæval monkish chronicler. Yet the *Golden Legend* has exceptional interest for those who would realize what was the character of European literature during the dark ages, and what Christian Europe owes to the revival of learning. For Jacobus de Voragine was at one time probably the most popular writer in all Western Christendom. His work in the original Latin was circulated in manuscript throughout Europe, and on the invention of printing was speedily reproduced—as it was by our own Caxton—in all the modern languages scattered over so wide an area. Of the reasons for the popularity of legend, roughly speaking, from the eighth to the thirteenth century, we may have something presently to say. We will first offer a few remarks upon the recent edition before us.

M. Teodor de Wyzema hardly entertains an adequate conception of what a scholarly recension put forth from the *Librairie Académique* of Perrin and Co. ought to include. His introduction contains little more than the meagre biography of his author and a vindication of his work from some of the aspersions cast upon it by such eminent critics as Vivès, the friend of Erasmus, and Jean de Launoi, 'the iconoclast of the saints': a vindication grounded on so lofty an assertion of ecclesiastical authority as will not be accepted by the average English reader. What can be said of a writer who upholds the accuracy of the legend that another man's finger, fraudulently substituted for one of St. Augustine's, actually wrought miracles, while on investigation the saint's hand was found to have that identical finger missing, with the observation that nothing is impossible with God, and the triumphant remark that no learning of Vivès or Launoi can prevail against this article of faith? M. de Wyzema would have done more wisely to devote some of the pages he wastes upon foolish contempt of the scientific spirit to supplying the reader with information which would serve to elucidate the *Golden Legend*. There are, for example, in this edition no references to the places in which the numerous quotations

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from the Fathers are to be found, and no warning when the extracts are taken from spurious writings. The reader will consult the notes in vain for such needful help as, to quote one instance only, that the *Histoire Tripartite*, frequently named in Jacobus de Voragine's pages, is the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates, Sozomen and Evagrius. As we turn to the body of the work we are tempted to pause and inquire from whence on the theory of evolution arose that love of the marvellous so specially conspicuous in a backward stage of human development. We are curious to know how the survival of the fittest was aided by minute accretions of the unregulated fancy and unchastened wonder, which so long swayed and influenced man's mental growth, but have been exchanged in later days for sceptical distrust and minutest critical investigation. In the *Golden Legend* romances that rival the achievements of Baron Munchausen or the adventures of the *Arabian Nights* are recorded with a simplicity of assurance that is infinitely amusing. *Credo quia absurdum* must have been the accepted motto and the faithful index of the mental attitude of an age which could give the *Golden Legend* a place in the ranks of serious literature.

Yet the influence of legendary history admits of rational explanation. It sprang up in the eighth century, when ecclesiastics dominated men's minds and monopolised the intellectual arena. It was in the infancy of modern European society, which was just emerging from the confusion that had naturally followed the conquest of the Roman Empire by barbarians and the consequent stagnation of all mental progress. It was the infancy of Modern Europe, and the only literature supplied to it by its clerical instructors was suitable to the earliest stage of its intellectual development. This was, however (as M. Guizot has pointed out), a veritable literature, with no other end in view than that of providing intellectual and moral pleasure. 'As after the battle of Troy,' the historian of French civilization continues, 'almost every town in Greece had poets who collected the traditions and adventures of the heroes and made a diversion of them for the public; so at this epoch the lives of the saints played the same part for the Christians.' How completely the pabulum

thus provided was congenial to the state of the age is proved by its enormous expansion: the folios of the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists containing over 25,000 Lives of saints. The simple recital of these legendary marvels had an unspeakable charm for that time, which it satisfied and fascinated as more exact biography delights later ages.

There was a further and a deeper want to which the Legends of the Saints ministered. They grew up in a time of extreme misery and disorder, when the moral instincts of humanity were daily revolted by unutterable violence and depravity; when unrestrained lust and ungovernable passion and brute force reigned supreme; when everything was abandoned to chance or to savage ferocity; when the world seemed plunged in Cimmerian darkness and chaos irretrievable. Upon such a condition of society the legends cast the bright light of morality and heroic self-sacrifice and devotion to truth and duty. The exaggeration of their details, even the substantial accuracy of their histories, were of little importance to men weighed down by the servitude and the sorrows and the sufferings that surrounded them. They afforded a welcome relief from the spectacle of vice and crime presented on every side. They answered to the yearning for sympathy and affection which, though dormant and even dead to all appearance, yet ever lies deep in the human heart. What if their estimate of celibacy were extravagant, and their picture of endurance which no torture could subdue were incredible! What if a tinge of coarseness in description sometimes blurred the page, or a contempt even of the most legitimate and natural affections were at times apparently advocated! Such blemishes in that epoch were trifling in the judgment of a harsh and semi-civilized state, whose sensibility was at once awakened and charmed by the benevolence and tenderness which everywhere gleam forth in these legendary stories. Here lies the secret of their extraordinary multiplication, of their wide dissemination, and of their universal acceptance.

It was to this huge mass of mingled history and fable, which had been accumulating for three centuries, that Jacobus de Voragine turned for the material of the *Golden Legend*.

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His purpose was to compose a work which should serve as a commentary to illustrate the Calendar of the ecclesiastical year, explaining the origin and meaning of the Christian fasts and festivals, and describing the lives of the saints to whose honour special days are dedicated. His work speedily gained the widest popularity, and was reproduced in countless editions with unauthorized additions, which M. Teodor de Wyzema claims to have carefully excised. It is time, however, to turn to the volume itself and examine its contents.

The materials appropriated by Jacobus de Voragine in the *Golden Legend* are of a strangely heterogeneous character: the most fanciful explanations of the purpose of the chief Church festivals being interspersed with narratives that are simply reproductions of the text of Holy Scripture. Historic and apocryphal biographies are mingled indiscriminately, and the length of a saint's memorial is not infrequently in inverse proportion to the authentic record of his career and the importance of his work. The largest space in the collection is accorded to the stories of Barlaam and Josaphat, of St. Dominic and St. Gregory, of St. Augustine, St. Clement, and St. Bernard; but in these, as throughout the work, the selection of details is most capricious. In the last of them, for example, no mention is made of St. Bernard's public disputation with Abelard, nor of his influence in promoting the Crusade. The account of St. Peter is spun out with a long description of his fabled struggle at Rome with Simon Magus, and the biographies of St. Thomas and St. Andrew are swollen with legends of equal uncertainty, while that of St. Paul—for which so much ampler materials were available—is markedly meagre and concise. To the close of each brief memoir there is generally appended a list of miracles, real or imaginary, wrought at the saint's tomb or through the medium of his relics and intercession. The faintest thread of connexion suffices for hanging upon it any anecdote that presents itself to the author's memory: as when the writer passes from the martyrdom of St. Peter to a conversation between Seneca and Nero. 'Why do you want to put me to death?' asks the philosopher. 'Because I am afraid of you, as I used to fear you when a child, and I cannot be at ease

so long as you are living.' 'At least let me choose how I shall die.' 'Choose what you like, provided only you die at once.' On this Seneca opens his veins in a warm bath, and fulfils by suicide the prophecy implied in his name—*se necans*!

It is frequently difficult to trace, beyond the most childish admiration of the marvellous, any purpose in the miracles recorded in the *Golden Legend*. When St. German inquires at the tomb of his deceased friend St. Cassian how he is, and the dead man replies in a voice loud and clear enough to be heard by the bystanders that he is enjoying sweet repose, and is waiting for the Redeemer's coming; when the statue of St. Agnes holds out its wedding finger to receive and retain a ring from a sorely tempted priest; when the candles in the church are all spontaneously lighted on the entrance of the corpse of St. German; when two pairs of fetters which had enchained St. Peter at Jerusalem under Herod and at Rome under Nero, of their own accord melt together into one; when three candles wrapped in linen become lighted inside the cloth and burn out there without scorching the material that envelops them; when all the sins of the Emperor Henry are counterbalanced by a gift to St. Lawrence of a golden chalice, at which a troop of devils are so wroth that they break off one of its handles, as was proved by the fracture of the handle on the very day of the emperor's decease; or when, to quote but one further example, upon the consul's endeavouring to enforce his marriage with Domitilla the wedding musicians cease to play and the dancers to trip, but the consul himself, seized with a sudden vertigo, goes on dancing for two days without intermission, and finally expires from fatigue:—in each and all of these cases a demand is made on our credulity without any adequate advantage resulting from the prodigy. Not infrequently the saints are described as influenced by what in meaner men would be regarded as unworthy jealousy or by greed for the gifts of their devotees; and sorrows, quite disproportionate to mistakes we might well deem venial, are inflicted for the withholding of an offering or even the substitution for some special gift of another of equal value.

We are perpetually reminded as a great Imperial nation of the wide difference which separates Eastern from Western modes of thought, and a like vast interval appears to sever us from the mental attitude which obtained largely in the middle ages. A thousand men cannot carry St. Lucy, although she is bound hand and foot, and a thousand pair of oxen are equally incapable of moving her. Incantations, fire, hot resin, boiling oil, fall harmless on her body, and even a sword thrust into her throat does not prevent her announcing that peace is restored that very day to the Church by the death of Maximian and the deposition of Diocletian. The staff of the Apostle St. Peter, when laid upon the body, restores to life a man who had been dead *for forty days*! yet the writer allows that the accounts are conflicting about the name of the saint who was the subject of this astounding miracle. St. German indeed offered to render a like service to one of his disciples, who had died at Tonnerre when on his way to join his master in Great Britain: but the dead man replied that he was so happy he preferred not to have his rest disturbed, and so was left in peace. We mark in passing that this is not the only instance in which St. German conversed familiarly for a brief space with departed friends. We select under this category of miracles, to modern thought transparently incredible, only one of the mighty works attributed to St. Dominic. One day, while he was preaching, some heretical women fell at his feet, exclaiming 'Servant of God, come to our aid; for if what you have been saying to-day is true, the spirit of error has for a long season blinded our eyes. 'Wait a moment,' he replied, 'and you shall see to what god you have been adhering.' And they saw springing into the midst of them a terrible cat, as large as a dog, with great flaming eyes and a huge and bloody tongue which hung down as low as his chest. We omit further unsavoury details. After encircling the women several times the animal disappeared in the clock tower by grasping one of the clock ropes. This appropriate and grim spectre converted the beholders to the orthodox faith. We are sorely tempted to reproduce some of the portents connected with St. Loup, such as that of the church clock of St. Stephen's at Sens, whose

beautiful tones lost all their sweetness when King Clotaire was carrying it off to Paris; on seeing this the monarch was sending it back again when it sounded out so bravely at seven miles from the place that all the city heard it, and St. Loup went out to meet it. Hardly less quaint is the story of his keeping a fiend confined in cold water all night by clapping his pillow over the glass which the unwary demon had entered. We content ourselves with one further and well-known example. When St. Denis and his two companions St. Rusticus and St. Eleutherus were all three beheaded, the body of the first sprang up, seized the severed head, and, conducted by an angel, walked with it two miles to the spot on the hill of Montmartre where, 'in accordance with his own wishes and the order of Divine providence, his remains rest to this very day.'

The entire absence of the critical spirit and the lack of any sense of proportion are conspicuous in the exaggerated numbers with which the writer 'enforced' his stories. In the reign of Diocletian, we are assured, the prefect Dacian commenced so violent a persecution of the Christians that 17,000 of them received the crown of martyrdom in a single month (p. 229). The heroic sufferings of St. Margaret convert 5,000 persons, all of whom are promptly put to death (p. 337), while the cure of a dumb man by St. Apollinaris wins for Christ 500 followers (p. 348). The crown of unparalleled success in preaching must be awarded to St. Simon and St. Jude, who baptized 60,000 persons, including the king and his chief nobles, during a stay of fifteen months in the city of Babylon (p. 601). Results in themselves sufficiently astounding, but which pale into insignificance beside these huge figures, adorn the legends of the finding of St. Stephen, of St. Savinian, and St. Christopher. As soon as the earth is stirred in which the body of the protomartyr was laid a delicious perfume exhaled from it which healed 70 persons of divers diseases. Upon St. Savinian planting his walking-stick in the ground it forthwith put forth leaves and flowers, and 1,108 spectators—the exact figure is significant—were gained to the faith. A similar miracle wrought by St. Christopher is the means of converting 800 men, and

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successive bands, each of 200 soldiers, are so touched by the piety of the giant saint that they adopt his creed and are ready to share his martyrdom. Occasionally 'wrath goes out from the Lord' upon the persecutors, or the indignant Christians turn upon their foes. When her own father ordered St. Christine to be tied to the wheels over a blazing furnace fed with oil, the fire, which refused to harm the young girl, threw out a flame which consumed 1,500 of the bystanders.

It is characteristic of the age in which the *Golden Legend* was compiled that all the martyrs do not suffer in a spirit of perfect meekness. Fierce recrimination is at times hurled back in reply to the taunts of their judges, and one infant prodigy fixes her teeth in the shoulder of her heathen jailer. We wonder whether it is quite fortuitously that the most angry language is put into the mouths of women by the Blessed Jacobus de Voragine. 'Insatiable and shameless dog' is the well-deserved but somewhat startling title which St. Margaret confers upon the prefect Olybrius. The climax of strong invective and passionate reproach is reached in the horrible story of St. Christine. Yet even when she is enduring the most sickening tortures, inflicted by her own father, our sympathy is shocked by her calling him 'Man without honour, without shame, and detested of God,' and telling him that she rejoices that she is no longer acknowledged as the daughter of such a devil as he. The father having died suddenly, the sainted sufferer blinds Julian, his successor on the bench, with a fragment which has been cut from her tongue.

We are fully prepared in an age when everything was read in the light of the baldest literalism to meet with strange examples of babes and sucklings in whose mouths God perfected praise. Some infants, as St. Nicholas, refused the breast on fast days, or would not take it until after sundown, or performed marvels of asceticism in other ways. Conspicuous among the examples of precocious firmness in the faith and of Christian heroism are the three daughters of St. Sophia, aged respectively eleven, ten, and eight years, each of whom after enduring terrible

torments, received the crown of martyrdom. The youngest, after being scourged and having her limbs broken, was cast into a burning furnace, which shot out sparks that killed six thousand persons, but she felt no harm and walked amid the flames as one encircled in shining gold. No wonder the writer adds that their mother, who witnessed all their sufferings, underwent a triple martyrdom through sharing in all they had to endure. Angels come down to strengthen such youthful witnesses to the truth, and the father of St. Vitus, who had cruelly beaten and sorely tempted his son to apostatize, was struck blind by the sight of one such heavenly visitant in the boy's chamber.

Not merely the existence, but the active interference, of spiritual beings both malign and beneficent in the daily life of men was the influential and persistent conviction of the Middle Ages, and it naturally finds abundant expression in the *Golden Legend*. The Christian's wrestling against principalities and powers is pictured in its pages, sometimes as a fair stand up fight between the saint and his fiendish assailant, sometimes as a legal controversy after death to determine the rightful destination of the departed. A whole troop of fiends is met returning disconsolate from their defeat at the inquest over the dead body of the Emperor Henry. In vain they had alleged that his many sins rightly demanded punishment: the gift of a single golden chalice availed to cancel the record and secured for the donor admission to the joy of Paradise.

The spirit world—both of angels and demons—which fills so subordinate a place, through the questionable complacency of modern thought, in our religious consciousness was very real to men's apprehension in the thirteenth century. For them the struggle with principalities and powers and spiritual wickedness in high places had not been ranked among the exploded delusions of effete superstition, nor relegated to negligible regions of speculation beyond the boundaries of positive and practical knowledge. In the *Golden Legend* the demons take possession of people and afflict them with painful disorders. They assume human form and retain it for a long season to consummate the damnation of a notorious sinner.

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They boldly dispute with St. Peter or the Virgin or one of the angels the body of a defunct before the judgment seat of God, and allege the dead man's sins in support of their claim. They tempt to sensual indulgence, not only in most alluring guise, but with such seductive subtlety as to deceive, if it were possible, the very elect. They load their followers with gifts of gold and precious stones, and restore them at the price of apostasy to lost or forfeited honours even in the ecclesiastical order. Yet with all their craft they are easily outwitted. They are absolutely powerless before the touch of a relic or the sign of the cross; while with deeper significance they confess that the virtue which most readily conquers them is humility.

The legend of Fursy, saint and bishop, is a quaint example of the contest for a soul. After a long and virtuous life the bishop rendered up his spirit to God. He then saw three angels come to him, two of whom carried his soul while the third preceded them bearing a white shield and brandishing a sword of fire. He saw too some demons, who, to prevent his advancing, shot flaming arrows, which the foremost angel caught on his shield and at once extinguished. Then the demons said, 'This man belongs to us; he has often indulged in idle talk; he has no right to enter the assembly of the blessed.' And the angel replied, 'Unless you can prove him guilty of great vices, he will not be punished for trifling faults.' After further discussion the angel exclaims, 'Let God judge between us.' So they fight, and the angel beats back his adversaries. Once more the demons charge the bishop with accepting gifts from wicked men. 'He believed them to be penitent.' 'But he ought first to have assured himself of their penitence.' Again the issue is referred to the God of battles, and the combat is renewed and the angel is victor. After further parley—during which the devil not only smote Fursy so cruelly that he never afterwards forgot the blow, but also plucked from hell and hurled at him one of the damned who struck and burned his shoulder—the accuser alleges that Fursy has not loved his neighbour as himself. 'He has always done good to his neighbour,' pleads the angel. 'That is not enough,' replies the demon. Once

more they fight and the evil spirit is worsted. Then the demon urges, 'If God be just, this man deserves chastisement, for he promised to renounce the world, whereas, on the contrary, he has loved it.' 'If he has loved the things of the world,' says the angel, 'it has not been for self-indulgence, but in order to give them to the poor.' Again the conflict is renewed, but God gives the angels victory and the dead man sees himself enveloped in an atmosphere of astounding brightness. And after all this, continues our author with inimitable simplicity, the soul of Fursy re-entered his body, to the deep surprise of those who were watching his corpse, and the aged bishop still lived for some time, after which he died, laden with good works.

An interview between St. Dominic and the Prince of darkness is too characteristic to be omitted. One night, as St. Dominic was praying in his church in Bologna, the devil appeared under the guise of a friar, and the saint, supposing him to be one of the brethren, made signs that he should go and sleep with his companions. The devil derisively repeated the signs with his head, and the saint, desiring to know what brother it was who so disregarded his orders, lighted a candle at one of the lamps and soon discovered with whom he was dealing. Thereupon he vehemently reproached the fiend, who dared in his turn to twit St. Dominic with breaking the rule of silence by speaking to him. The saint reminded him that his dignity as abbot released him from the rule of silence, and then commanded him to say how he tempted the brethren in the choir. 'I make them come too late and leave too soon.' The saint, 'How do you tempt them in the dormitory?' The devil, 'I make them go to bed too early and rise too late.' 'And how do you tempt them in the refectory?' and the fiend, leaping from one table to another, only answered several times over, 'By too much and too little,' and when questioned what he meant replied, 'I induce some to eat too much, that so they may sin through gluttony; and I persuade others not to eat enough, that they may be less fit for the service of God.' Next Dominic inquired of the devil how he tempted the brethren in the parlour, and the devil said, 'Ah, that is my veritable domain, for when the brethren assemble

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there to talk together I incite them to indulge in disorder and to get lost in idle, useless talk, and all to open their mouths at once.' Finally, Dominic led the fiend to the chapter-house of the convent, but he would not enter it at any price (*à aucun prix*), saying, 'This place is malediction, and hell to me ; for I lose here all that I have gained in the rest of the convent. As soon as I have led a monk astray to sin, he comes here to purge himself of his fault and make public confession of it.' This said, the fiend disappeared. We may notice, among other quaint conceits about demoniacal possession, that on one occasion a fiend enters a man in the guise of a mosquito which is swallowed in a draught of wine.

In marked contrast with such fantastic conceptions is the following account of the office and ministry of angels. 'Lastly, the Church celebrates,' we read, 'on this day [September 29] the memory of St. Michael and all Angels.' We ought, in truth, to remember

'to laud and to honour them for many reasons : they are our guardians, our helpers, our brothers, our fellow citizens ; the bearers of our souls to heaven, the representatives of our prayers before God, our comforters in our sorrows. They are, first of all, our guardians, for everyone has by his side two angels : one evil, to try him, the other good, to guard him. Our good angel guards us from our mother's breast ; it is he who preserves us, as soon as we are born, from dying before we are baptized ; and in adult age inclines us to good and defends us against the oppression of the tempter. In the second place, they are our helpers : for as the book of the Hebrews says, they are spirits charged with ministries. Nothing so much shows the Divine goodness or the love of God for us as this fact that God charges these sublime spirits, who are of His household, to aid us to our salvation. In the third place, the angels are our brothers and fellow citizens. For all the elect are distributed among the hierarchy of angels according to their merits : some are placed among the angels of higher, others among those of inferior, others among those of intermediate, order. And the holy Virgin alone is above them all. In the fourth place, they are the bearers of our souls to heaven : as in the Gospel of St. Luke, the beggar Lazarus was carried by an angel into Abraham's bosom. In the fifth place, they present our prayers before God : witness the angel saying to Tobias "While you were praying and burying the dead, I presented your

prayer to the Lord." In the sixth and last place, they are our comforters in trouble. They are this in three ways. They strengthen and stablish us, they help us to endure, they quench the heat of our tribulations, as did the angel in the book of Daniel, who came down into the furnace with the three young men and caused a sweet breeze to blow in the midst of the flames' (pp. 549, 550).

A hint which Jacobus de Voragine lets fall in concluding the apocryphal story of the Virgin's Assumption supplies the key to much that, if understood *au pied de la lettre*, would lose all its charm. There are some things, he says, which should be taken symbolically: and to these we should refer a whole class of phenomena that occur very frequently in his pages. The brilliancy which so often encircles the saints in their last hours; the intolerable stench emitted from the presence of evil spirits; the delicious fragrance that exhales from the bodies of saints long after the period when decay would naturally have set in, may be regarded as the poetic expression of convictions which possess all Christian minds; sometimes enshrined in such Scriptural phrase as 'the path of the just is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day'; sometimes expressed in such lyric verse as declares that

'Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.'

From the body of St. Paul at the moment of his martyrdom, from the corpse of St. Nazaire when disinterred by St. Ambrose three centuries and a half after his burial, from the cave which formed the sepulchre of St. Dominic—to name but three out of a host of like prodigies—sweet perfumes were poured forth. In the last case, we are assured, the smell was so exquisite that it surpassed all the perfumes in the world, and so powerful that it impregnated not only the saint's remains but his coffin and all the earth piled around it, and even the hands of the brethren who touched it. The symbolism of the celestial lights is too obvious to call for comment. Two of the fraternity of St. Benedict, one with the saint in his cell and the other at a distance, both see a luminous track rising from the cloister eastwards up to heaven, and

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are both informed by a strange being that it is the path by which the blessed St. Benedict is mounting up to glory.

We turn from these illustrations to some other poetic features of the *Golden Legend*. It is a pretty fancy, and, as the history of St. Francis teaches, not without some element of truth, that God's creatures of the lower order recognize the sanctity and minister to the wants of His devoted servants. The ravens which fed Elijah night and morning find their counterpart in the birds and beasts, and even in the insects, which watch over the safety of the saints or help to supply their necessities. A spider's web, *hung by Divine ordinance*, over the entrance of a ruin in which St. Felix had taken refuge, convinces his pursuers that there is no one there in hiding (p. 82). A raven at the bidding of St. Benedict takes a poisoned loaf, which has been designed to cause his death, and carries it to a spot where no one will touch it (pp. 187-8). Bulls, wolves, lions—'creatures of note for mercy-lacking uses'—become obedient under the orders of the saints, and even in the presence of their relics. Two kings of the forest dig the grave of St. Paul 'the hermit' (p. 84), and St. Blaise has power to restore to a poor woman her only pig, which a wolf has carried off and at his command brought back again. The golden age of Isaiah is anticipated when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. Not only animate, but inanimate, nature is submissive to the constraining force of sanctity. The stone on which the body of St. James the Great is laid becomes plastic as wax and forms itself into a sarcophagus that encloses and exactly fits his body (p. 355). With such poetic legends we may class the pretty conceit that a hundred youths clothed in white and led by a young man in a silk tunic, placed a tablet of marble with a suitable inscription at the burial of St. Agatha upon her sepulchre and then instantly vanished (p. 149). Closely allied in thought is the fable connected with the death of St. Ignatius. 'Why do you repeat so constantly the name of Jesus Christ?' his executioners inquired. 'Because I carry His name written on my heart,' was the reply. After his death the

martyr's body was opened, and the sacred Name was found inscribed on his heart in letters of gold (p. 145).

The four days dedicated in the Calendar to the Nativity, the Annunciation, the Purification, and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, serve to illustrate the development of the Virgincult in the thirteenth century, and afford occasion to the author of the *Golden Legend* for recording some of the most fanciful of his anecdotes. The story of the Virgin's birth from parents already well stricken in years is mainly described in language borrowed from Holy Writ, and is designed to show that its attendant circumstances were in no degree inferior to the marvels that encircled the cradles of Isaac, of Samson, or of John the Baptist. Her early life, spent within the hallowed precinct of the temple, was only diverted from the perpetual celibacy which Mary had designed for herself by the special revelation which bade her submit to be the betrothed of Joseph. Strange to tell, the Virgin's natal day had long been forgotten in the Church when a certain saint named John Beleth observed that each year on the 8th of September he had heard angelic music keeping high festival, and in answer to his prayers he was informed that this was the anniversary of the Virgin's nativity. In the recital of the Annunciation, Jacobus de Voragine does little more than transcribe the words of the angel Gabriel as recorded by St. Luke; but the Purification affords him wider scope for pious ingenuity and practical instruction which are too characteristic to be passed over.

The festival, we are told, bears the threefold name of Purification, Presentation, and Candlemas (Chandeleur). The Virgin needed not to have submitted to the Jewish law of purification, but of her own will she did so for four reasons. First, to set an example of humility. Second, to do homage to the law, which her Son came not to destroy but to fulfil. Third, to put an end to Jewish and to commence Christian purification, which is wrought through faith purifying the heart. Fourth, to teach us to purify ourselves throughout the whole of our lives. The question why only the offering of a pair of turtle doves was made by one who had lately received a large quantity of gold from the Wise Men receives

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the threefold solution, that the Virgin may have immediately given it to the poor, or that she kept it for her stay of seven years in Egypt, or that perhaps the Magi did not give much, but only a little gold as a mystic symbol. Passing over the Presentation, we come to the Candlemas, so called because at this feast the faithful carry lighted candles for four reasons. First, to correct the pagan custom of celebrating the Rape of Proserpine by searching for her in the early days of February with lighted torches.

'As it is always difficult to renounce an established custom, Pope Sergius decreed, in order to give the practice a Christian purpose, that everyone should pay honour to the Virgin on this day by carrying a taper that had been blessed. In this way the ancient usage was continued, but was elevated to a higher intention.'

Second, the lighted candles were to serve as emblems of her who is all-light. Third, the procession of that day symbolizes that made by Mary and Joseph, Simeon and Anna, at the presentation of Christ in the temple. Lastly, the festival was designed to instruct us that, if we would be pure in the sight of God, we must have sincere faith, disinterested action, and right intention. The lighted taper represents faith and good works, the wick concealed in the wax, right intention: of which St. Gregory says, 'Let your works be public, but let your intentions remain secret.'

It fully accords with such intermixture of fact and fable that strange, incredible, and pointless stories—some of them grotesquely antinomian in tendency—are strung upon the explanation of the four festivals in honour of the Virgin. A soldier who had adopted the cowl proved too stupid to learn anything beyond the Ave Maria, which he repeated daily with conscientious reiteration. After his burial a lily sprang from his grave, whose root was traced to the dead man's mouth, and on every leaf of it was imprinted the Angelic Salutation in golden letters. A highway robber, *who stole everything he could lay hands on, but had a great devotion to the Virgin Mary*, was at last captured and hanged for his crimes; but the Virgin kept him alive in her arms for three days upon the gibbet, at the end of which time he was cut down and, having entered a convent, passed a life of penitence.

In one case a mother whose son was taken prisoner in war, finding her prayers to the Virgin for his release were fruitless, boldly carried off the image of the infant Saviour from the statue of the Virgin and Child in a neighbouring church, and vowed to keep it as a hostage for the restoration of her son. Needless to say, the Virgin, thus pressed, speedily effected the liberation of the captive, and received back again her own sacred Bambino. The absolute severance of any moral reformation from the regular and mechanical performance of outward acts of devotion, and the apparent unconsciousness of any necessity for contrition in order to obtain forgiveness at the bar of divine judgment, displayed in the pages of the *Golden Legend*, betoken a terribly degraded conception of Christian truth, upon which further light is cast by the abnormal crimes which meet the reader's eye. How cheap, for example, human life must have been when a woman could hire two ruffians to strangle her own son-in-law in her daughter's absence merely to be rid of the utterly groundless calumny that she was herself enamoured of him!

Already the authority of the Virgin Mary had become so influential that devotion to her atoned for the most serious crimes. Dissolute priests, debauched monks, thieves, murderers, all escape condemnation, if only they have been worshippers at her shrines. It would require more space than we have at command to describe in detail the many wonders assigned to her. The mere repetition of the Ave Maria daily foils for years all the arts and crafts of the devil to drag a brigand down to hell. Yet more singular is the legend which tells how one of her devotees was permitted in a dream to assist at a celestial Mass, attended by the Virgin and her heavenly court, at which our Lord Himself was the celebrant. In the course of the service large wax tapers were distributed to the worshippers, which at its close they all handed to the acolytes, except the earthly visitant, who refused to part with so precious a memento, whereupon the angelic official strove to wrest it from her by force. In the tussle that ensued the taper was broken, and the dreamer awoke to find the fragment of it still in her hand—a priceless souvenir of her vision, and gifted with the power of curing all manner of diseases.

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All the wealth of legendary imagination naturally enough runs riot over so fascinating a topic as the Assumption of the Virgin. St. Jerome confesses that the story, which was commonly attributed for obvious reasons to St. John, is absolutely apocryphal, but it is at least a very charming specimen of romantic fancy. The Virgin has spent the years since the dispersion of the Apostles at her home near Mount Sion in visiting the spots consecrated by memories of her Son; but at length her desire to rejoin Him has become an all-consuming passion, and an angel clothed in light appears, who, with a respectful salutation, hands her a palm branch from Paradise, which is to be borne before her bier three days later, for then her Son awaits her coming. And Mary replies, 'I earnestly beg that my sons and brothers, the Apostles, may assemble round me, so that I may see them with my eyes before I die and render up my soul to God in their presence and be buried by them. I ask, too, that my soul as it leaves my body may encounter no evil spirit, and that I may be delivered from the power of Satan.' And the angel 'Know that this very day all the Apostles will meet together here, and in their presence you shall breathe forth your spirit. For He who in old days transported the prophet from Judea to Babylon needs but a moment to bring them all here. And as for the evil spirit, what have you to fear? You have bruised his head under your feet, and have despoiled him of his power.' This said, the angel mounted up again to heaven, and the palm he had brought shone with exceeding brightness. It was a green bough, but its leaves were as brilliant as the morning star.

We cannot reproduce the legend in full. A cloud carries off St. John as he is preaching at Ephesus, and deposits him at the door of the Virgin, who welcomes him and bids him bear the palm branch at her burial. As she is speaking all the other Apostles are brought on clouds, and John explains the reason of their assemblage, while the Virgin forbids their weeping when she is gone lest the people should say, 'These men preach the resurrection to others, but are themselves afraid of death.' At the third hour of the night Jesus Himself comes with a legion of angels, the company of the

patriarchs, the army of martyrs, the cohorts of confessors, and the choirs of virgins; and all this holy troop, ranged before the throne of Mary, begin to sing canticles of praise. Then Jesus says, 'Come, My Beloved, that I may place thee on My throne, for I desire to have thee near Me.' And Mary, 'Lord, I am ready.' And all the holy choir sang sweetly the praises of Mary. After which Mary herself chanted, 'All generations shall call me blessed, because of the great honour He hath done me who can do all things.' And the leader of the heavenly choir sang out, 'Come from Lebanon, my betrothed, to be crowned.' And Mary, 'Here am I. I am coming, for it is written of me that I must do Thy will, O God, for my soul delighteth in thee.' So then the soul of Mary left her body and flew to the bosom of her Son, released from sorrow as it had been freed from stain. And Jesus said to the Apostles, 'Bear away the Virgin's body and deposit it in the Valley of Josaphat in a monument you will find there, and wait for Me there three days.' And immediately the Virgin's body was encircled with roses and lilies, the symbol of martyrs and angels, of confessors and virgins.

Whilst three virgins, who chanced to be there (*qui se trouvaient là*), are lavng the sainted body, it emits, during their travail, a light so brilliant that they cannot see it even as they touch it. Then the Apostles reverently lift it and place it in a coffin, and a friendly contention arises between Peter and John, each desiring to assign to the other the honour of carrying the celestial palm branch. Peter insists that he must bear it who was deemed worthy to recline on the Saviour's breast, but that he and St. Paul will be the bearers as he intones *Exiit Israel de Aegypto, Alleluia*. All the rest of the Apostles followed singing, and the Lord enwrapped them in a cloud, so that their voices were heard without their being seen, and angels joined in with them in harmony, and the whole earth was filled with marvellous sounds. Attracted by the melody, the Jews, headed by their chief priests, attempted to seize the coffin, but instantly their outstretched arms were withered and their eyes blinded. 'Have pity on me,' cried the high priest to Peter, 'and pray to God for me. Remember how I stood your friend on that

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day when a maid-servant accused you.' We cannot linger any longer over the legend, which concludes with the miraculous preservation of the Virgin's body from corruption and with the victory over the unbelief of Thomas—who had not been present at the miraculous assumption—and disbelieves until the Virgin's girdle fell from heaven into his hands, and so all his doubts were removed.

Having reached this termination the writer observes, 'all that has just been said is absolutely apocryphal, as St. Jerome says in his letter to Paula and Eustochium'; but, the saint adds, there are, however, some of the details we ought to accept as true—viz. the divine assistance promised and displayed to the Virgin, the reunion of all the Apostles, the preparations for the burial in the Valley of Josaphat, the persecution of the Jews, the performance of the miracles, and finally the simultaneous assumption of the soul and the body. Of the other details, some should be regarded as symbolical; others, like the absence and the doubt of Thomas, may be absolutely rejected.

The legendary history of the Virgin as recorded by Jacobus de Voragine serves the twofold purpose of determining the development of her cultus at the opening of the thirteenth century and of illustrating the stores of romance which are enshrined in the *Golden Legend*. What wealth of poetic imagination meets us in its pages! The story of Nicolas who, entering the purgatory of St. Patrick, passed unhurt through long protracted perils solely by prayer for the help of Jesus, and at length reached the Elysian fields, vividly recalls the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The tale of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus and the singular fiction of St. Mary the Egyptian are flights of fancy no less fantastic and alluring. How many later stories have plots founded on similar incidents to the legend of St. Alexis, who passed seventeen years unrecognized as a servant in the house of his own wealthy father, or to that of Pelagia, who lived as a monk upon the Mount of Olives for years, and whose sex was only discovered at her death! How attractive to the taste of the age were the conversion of St. Eustace, the hunter, and St. Christopher, the giant, and St. Thais, the courtesan, with her penance of unutterable foulness! The author, after his own peculiar

fashion, at once relates and repudiates the fables which had accrued around the genealogy and the career of Judas Iscariot, and which repeat the tragic destiny of incest and ruin that overwhelmed the house of the Atreidæ. The fall and penitence of St. Theodora are identical in *motif* with Hawthorne's pathetic novel of *The Scarlet Letter*. While the field of historical romance is occupied by such examples as the struggles of St. Peter and Simon Magus, the Eastern tale of Barlaam and Josaphat, and the well-known and deeply touching legend of St. Elizabeth of Hungary.

The undying charm of incidents embodied in these romances is enhanced by the quaint simplicity with which they are described. Constantine the Great, before his conversion, has a dream in which two shining ones, whom he takes to be gods, appear to him, but *when the portraits of St. Peter and St. Paul are shown to him*, he recognizes them as his mysterious visitants. The finding of the body of St. Stephen forms the subject of a pretty legend, in which Gamaliel and Nicodemus play their parts. The ashes of all three are supposed to be gathered in golden vases and placed in one sepulchre with a vase of silver. One of the golden vases is full of red roses, the other two of white ones, and the silver vase of saffron. That with the red roses was the coffin of St. Stephen, who alone of the four was deemed worthy of a martyr's crown; the white blossoms typified the sincerity of heart with which Nicodemus and Gamaliel persevered in the faith of Christ; the saffron symbolised the virgin purity in which Atibus, Gamaliel's son, had lived and died. Such is the information thrice over conveyed in a dream by Gamaliel himself to Lucian, a priest in Jerusalem in the year of grace 417, who also pointed out the spot where the sacred relics were deposited in the priest's garden. The bishop and his clergy gathered at this place, and scarce had the digging commenced when a fragrant odour was emitted, which cured seventy persons of divers diseases. The vases were transported to the church of Jerusalem, *in which St. Stephen had formerly performed the functions of archdeacon*.

We must not linger further over the wonders recorded in the *Golden Legend*, nor give more examples of the reasons

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assigned for the observance of many Church seasons. It would be only insisting upon the obvious to dwell upon the startling contrast between the miracles recounted by Jacobus de Voragine and those recorded in the Gospel narrative, and the equally startling contrast in the motives alleged for their performance. The demand for a sign from heaven so repeatedly and vainly made to our Blessed Lord by the unbelieving Jews is, in the *Golden Legend*, constantly accepted as a reasonable request, even when coupled with the most arbitrary conditions, and the wonder wrought in compliance with it invariably results in the conversion of the most obstinate and stiff-necked infidels.

The unbelief which, as we read in St. Matthew's Gospel (xiii. 58), chilled the loving energy of Omnipotent Love, is in the *Golden Legend* no obstacle to the exercise of inconceivable prodigies. The predominant appetite for thaumaturgy is insatiable. Incessant appeal is made to the ordeal of the miraculous. Even the question of the continuance or disuse of the Ambrosian, in preference to the Gregorian, liturgy was referred, although with only doubtful results, to the decision given by a special sign from heaven.

The illustrations already given will, we think, enable the reader to form an adequate conception of what for centuries formed the staple of the most popular literature throughout Central and Western Europe. As an object lesson, showing how long and how dense was the darkness which preceded the dawn of the new learning in the fourteenth century; as a vivid representation of an early stage in the development of the mind of the West; as an example of the fascination which the story of life's tragedy—the constantly renewed struggle of man against overwhelming odds— invariably exercises over the imagination; as a witness, however strangely and even grotesquely offered, of the absolute supremacy of conscience and the inviolable sanctity of duty; and more than all, as a striking presentment of examples of invincible purity and superhuman gentleness in an unspeakably coarse and cruel age, the *Golden Legend* must have had its value when it was first compiled, as it has through the softening atmosphere of six centuries its charm for ourselves.

But to claim more than this for it, as M. Teodor de Wyzema does in his Preface, to speak of its incredible absurdities as though they admitted of intelligent acceptance, is to place the *Golden Legend* in utterly false perspective, to do infinite damage to the cause of truth, and to afford excuse for those assaults upon the miracles recorded in Holy Scripture which are so common and so pernicious at the present day.

ART. III.—THE HOLY EUCHARIST: AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY.

PART VIII.

To the lists of books prefixed to Parts I.—VII., add the following :

58. *The Whole Works of the Right Rev. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D., Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore.* By the Right Rev. REGINALD HEBER, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Revised and corrected by the Rev. C. P. EDEN. In ten volumes. (London, 1850–1856.)
59. *A Discourse concerning the Adoration of the Host, as it is taught and practised in the Church of Rome.* (London, 1685.)
60. *A Discourse against Transubstantiation.* (London, 1685.)
61. *A Discourse concerning the Necessity of Reformation with respect to the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of Rome. The First Part.* (London, 1686.)
62. *The Necessity of Reformation with respect to the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of Rome. The Second Part. Wherein is showed the Vanity of the Pretended Reformation of the Council of Trent.* (London, 1686.)
63. *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century, being the Correspondence between the Eastern Patriarchs and the Nonjuring Bishops.* By GEORGE WILLIAMS. (London, Oxford, and Cambridge, 1868.)

XXI. At the Savoy Conference in 1661 a paper of 'exceptions' against the Book of Common Prayer was drawn up

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by the Presbyterian divines. Among the requests contained in this paper, it was asked that kneeling at the reception of Communion might be optional,¹ and that the 'declaration on kneeling' which the Council had added to the Prayer Book of 1552, but which was omitted in the Prayer Book of 1559, might be restored.² In the reply of the Bishops it was stated that kneeling was 'most convenient' and 'most decent' at Communion;³ and that, as to the declaration, it was

'not in the liturgy of Queen Elizabeth, nor confirmed by law; nor is there any great need of restoring it, the world being now in more danger of profanation than of idolatry. Besides, the sense of it is declared sufficiently in the twenty-eighth article of the Church of England.'⁴

In the revised Prayer Book, however, drawn up by Convocation in 1661, and given the sanction of the State by the Act of Uniformity of 1662, the 'declaration on kneeling' was added at the end of the Order of Holy Communion, with one alteration of great significance, namely, that the words 'corporal presence' were substituted for the phrase 'real and essential presence.'⁵ As we have already pointed out,⁶ the declaration in the form adopted in 1552, while it was capable of an interpretation not inconsistent with the statements of the Council of Trent by laying stress on the word 'natural,' was not likely to have been drawn up by any who believed in the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the consecrated elements. In considering its meaning in the altered form in which it appeared in the Prayer Book of 1662, it is necessary to ask what reasons led the Bishops to assent to the addition of the declaration after replying to the Presbyterian divines that it was unnecessary, and with what object the alteration in its wording was made. Such evidence as there is supports the opinion that in the meantime they had been shown how the declaration might be admitted

¹ Cardwell, *A History of Conferences and other Proceedings connected with the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 310, 321.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 322, 323.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 350.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 354.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 383.

⁶ See Part V. of this article, *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1902, pp. 88, 89.

without any rejection of the doctrine of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and that the alteration was made so as to secure this result.¹

In other respects no change bearing on the doctrine of the Eucharist was made in the Prayer Book of 1662. Moreover, the Articles remained unaltered. By the official statements of the Church of England, therefore, it was left possible for her members to hold any doctrine regarding the Eucharistic presence other than Transubstantiation and Zwinglianism, and any doctrine regarding the Eucharistic sacrifice which allowed for a 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' and a 'remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ,' and did not impair the completeness and efficacy of the sacrifice offered on the cross. Yet, now as in 1604, the words of the Catechism could most easily be understood to imply the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the consecrated elements prior to their reception in Communion.

John Cosin was born at Norwich in 1595. In 1616 he became librarian and secretary to Bishop Overall. After holding several preferments, he became Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1634, and Dean of Peterborough in 1640. He suffered in the troubled times which followed that year, and from 1643 to 1660 he was in France. In July 1660 he returned to his deanery at Peterborough, and on Dec. 2, 1660, he was consecrated Bishop of Durham. In January 1672 he died.

Cosin's great learning and the prominent part taken by him in the revision of the Prayer Book of 1662 make his belief about the Eucharist of special interest. About 1652, when he was in France, he wrote a book entitled *Regni Angliae Religio Catholica*, at the request of Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, with the object of giving Christians abroad a just idea of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. The English Church, he says,

¹ See a clear statement in Pullan, *The History of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 316-18. Cf. Procter and Frere, *A new History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 197. For other interpretations, see Perry, *Some Historical Considerations relating to the Declaration on Kneeling*; Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, pp. 823-60; Tomlinson, *Prayer Book, Articles, and Homilies*, pp. 264, 265.

rejects 'the fable (figmentum) of Transubstantiation,' and 'the repeated (iteratum) sacrifice of Christ to be offered daily by each priest for the living and the departed.'¹ The Eucharist is celebrated on the greater festivals and on the first Sunday of each month; and, if those who can rightly communicate wish for it, it can and therefore ought to be celebrated on any other Sunday, festival, or weekday. In describing the service, he mentions the retention of the ancient ceremonies, prayers, and vestments; that, after the Prayer for the Church Militant, those who are not about to communicate leave the church; that the communicants enter the chancel before the Confession; that, at the Prayer of Consecration, the priest 'blesses each symbol, and consecrates them to be the Sacrament (in sacramentum) of the Body and Blood of Christ;' that, in the posture of kneeling at and after Communion the communicants 'adore Christ, not the Sacrament;' and that there is 'the solemn Eucharist or sacrifice of praise of the Church, offered to God Most High as a commemoration (in commemorationem) of the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ once offered on the cross.'²

Cosin wrote for the Countess of Peterborough *A Paper concerning the Differences in the chief points of Religion betwixt the Church of Rome and the Church of England*, which was printed in 1705 by Dr. Hickes from the copy which Cosin had given to the Countess. It contains lists of 'the differences' and of 'the agreements' 'between the Roman Catholics and us of the Church of England.' Among 'the differences' are the Roman Catholic beliefs

'That the priests offer up our Saviour in the Mass as a real, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and that whosoever believes it not is eternally damned:

'That, in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the whole substance of bread is converted into the substance of Christ's Body, and the whole substance of wine into His Blood, so truly and properly as that after consecration there is neither any bread nor wine remaining there; which they call Transubstantiation, and impose upon all persons under pain of damnation to be believed.'³

¹ Cosin, *Works* (Anglo-Catholic Library), iv. 347.

² *Op. cit.* iv. 357-60.

³ *Op. cit.* iv. 333.

Among the 'agreements' are, that 'Roman Catholics' and 'we are at accord'

'In commemorating at the Eucharist the sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood once truly offered for us :

'In acknowledging His sacramental, spiritual, true, and real presence there to the souls of all them that come faithfully and devoutly to receive Him according to His own institution in that holy Sacrament.'¹

In 1656, while at Paris, Cosin wrote his *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis*, which was published in London in 1675 after his death. An English translation by Luke de Beaulieu appeared in the following year. The position maintained at great length in this treatise is probably the same as that briefly expressed in the quotations which have already been made. Cosin associates the doctrine of the Church of England with that of those foreign reformers who followed Calvin in asserting a real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ to faithful communicants. A few passages at first sight seem to imply that the consecrated elements are the Body and Blood of Christ before Communion ; but, when these are closely examined and viewed in their context, the meaning of them appears to be that it is the office of the consecrated elements to enable the communicant to receive Christ's Body and Blood.

'In the Eucharist, by virtue of the words and blessing of Christ, the condition, use, and office of the bread is wholly changed ; that is, of common and ordinary, it becomes our mystical and sacramental food ; whereby . . . the real Body of Christ is not only shadowed and figured, but also indeed given and received in the souls of worthy communicants.'²

'The form of this Sacrament consists in the union of the thing signified with the sign, that is, the bestowing (exhibitione) of the Body of Christ with the consecrated bread, still remaining bread. By the appointment of God these two are made one ; and, though this union be not natural, substantial, personal, or local, by their being one within another, yet it is so straight and so true that, in eating the blessed bread, the real Body of Christ is given to us, and the names of the sign and of the thing signified are reciprocally changed, what is proper to the Body is attributed to the bread, and what

¹ *Op. cit.* iv. 336.

² *Op. cit.* iv. 46 (cf. 172).

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belongs only to the bread is affirmed of the Body, and both are united in time, though not in place.¹

'We do not hold that only the merits of the death of Christ are represented by the blessed elements, but also that His very Body which was crucified for us, and His very Blood which was shed for us, are both signified and offered, that our souls may possess Christ as truly and certainly as the material and visible signs are by us seen and received, eaten and drunk. . . . We own the union between the Body and Blood of Christ and the elements, whose use we hold to be changed from what it was before. But we deny what the Papists affirm, that the substance of bread and wine are abolished or changed into the Body and Blood of our Lord in such sort that the bare accidents of the elements do alone remain united with Christ's Body and Blood. And we also deny that the Sacrament still retains the nature of a Sacrament when used otherwise than according to the institution of God, so that Christ in the consecrated bread ought or could be kept and carried about, because He is present only to communicants. . . . We do not say that in the Lord's Supper we receive only the benefits of Christ's death and passion; but we join the ground with its fruits, that is, Christ with those advantages we receive from Him, affirming with St. Paul that "the bread which we break is κοινωνία, the Communion of the Body of Christ, and the cup which we bless the Communion of His Blood," of that very substance which He took of the blessed Virgin and afterwards carried into heaven, differing from the Papists only in this, that they believe the eating and Communion of Christ to be in a corporal fashion, and we, on the contrary, maintain it to be indeed as real as if it were naturally and corporally, but not in a corporal or natural way. . . . But that Christ, as the Papists affirm, should give His Flesh and Blood to be taken and eaten with the mouth and the teeth . . . this our words and our hearts do utterly deny.'²

The fifth volume of the edition of Cosin's works in the *Anglo-Catholic Library* contains three series of notes on the Book of Common Prayer ascribed to Cosin. There is nothing in the second and third series, both of which are the work of Cosin, which suggests any different doctrine from that explained in the *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis*. The most important passages are the following:

'True it is that the Body and Blood of Christ are sacramentally and really (not feignedly) present, when the blessed bread and wine

¹ *Op. cit.* iv. 48 (cf. 173).

² *Op. cit.* iv. 48, 49 (cf. 174, 175).

are taken by the faithful communicants; and as true is it also that they are not present but only when the hallowed elements are so taken, as in another work (the *History of the Papal Transubstantiation*) I have more at large declared. Therefore whosoever so receiveth them, at that time when he receiveth them, rightly doth he adore and reverence his Saviour there together with the sacramental bread and cup exhibiting His own Body and Blood unto them. Yet because that Body and Blood is neither sensibly present (nor otherwise at all present but only to them that are duly prepared to receive them, and in the very act of receiving them and the consecrated elements together, to which they are sacramentally in that act united), the adoration is then and there given to Christ Himself, neither is nor ought to be directed to any external sensible object, such as are the blessed elements.¹

'The Eucharist may by allusion, analogy, and extrinsecal denomination, be fitly called a sacrifice, and the Lord's table an altar; the one relating to the other; though neither of them can be strictly and properly so termed. . . . The prophecy of Malachy.² . . . is interpreted and applied by the ancient fathers sometimes in general to all the acts of our Christian religion, and sometimes in particular to the Eucharist, that is, the act of our praise and thanksgiving for the sacrifice of Christ once made for us upon the cross (as here we use in the Church of England).'³

'Though the bread and wine remain, yet the consecration, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, do not remain longer than the holy action itself remains for which the bread and wine were hallowed.'⁴

The first series of these notes contains teaching of a different kind, explicitly connecting the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ with the consecration and calling the Eucharist a propitiatory sacrifice. Dr. Barrow, the editor of the edition of Cosin's works in the *Anglo-Catholic Library*, ascribed the notes in this first series to Cosin, and accounted for the doctrinal difference between them and those in the

¹ *Op. cit.* v. 345.

² Mal. i. 10.

³ *Op. cit.* v. 347, 348.

⁴ *Op. cit.* v. 356, 357. From the way it is introduced this sentence seems to express Cosin's own opinion; but it should be noticed that it forms part of a question apparently stated as a basis of discussion which suggests a practical conclusion which Cosin did not accept, namely, that the curates should have any remains of the consecrated elements to their own use.

second series and the *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis* by their having been written at an earlier date in Cosin's life.¹ It seems more probable that they are the work of a different writer, possibly a nephew of Bishop Overall named Hayward.² They include the following statements :

'It is confessed by all divines that upon the words of consecration the Body and Blood of Christ is really and substantially present, and so exhibited and given to all that receive it ; and all this not after a physical and sensual, but after a heavenly and invisible and incomprehensible manner : but yet there remains this controversy among some of them, whether the Body of Christ be present only in the use of the Sacrament and in the act of eating, and not otherwise. They that hold the affirmative, as the Lutherans in *Conf. Sax.* and all Calvinists do, seem to me to depart from all antiquity, which place the presence of Christ in the virtue of the words of consecration and benediction used by the priest and not in the use of eating of the Sacrament, for they tell us that the virtue of that consecration is not lost, though the Sacrament be reserved either for sick persons or other.'³

'This is a plain oblation of Christ's death once offered, and a representative sacrifice of it, for the sins, and for the benefit, of the whole world, of the whole Church ; that both those which are here on earth, and those that rest in the sleep of peace, being departed in the faith of Christ, may find the effect and virtue of it It is not only commemorated to have been once offered, but solemn prayers are here also added, and request made, that it may be effectual to all. . . . And in this sense it is not only an eucharistical, but a propitiatory, sacrifice. . . . Why should we then make any controversy about this ? They love not the truth of Christ, nor the peace of the Church, that make these disputes between the Church of Rome and us, when we agree, as Christian Churches should, in our liturgies : what private men's conceits are—what is that to the public approved religion of either Church, which is to be seen in their liturgies best of all ?'⁴

Jeremy Taylor was born at Cambridge in 1613. He became Rector of Uppingham in 1638, and shortly afterwards was appointed Chaplain to the King. During the Common-

¹ *Op. cit.* v. p. xix.

² See a discussion on this point in some letters in the *Guardian* for September 26, October 3, 17, 24, 1900.

³ *Op. cit.* v. 131.

⁴ *Op. cit.* v. 119, 120.

wealth he resided in Wales, London, and Ireland. He was consecrated Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore early in 1661. He died in 1667. Indications of his belief about the Eucharist may be found in his *Life of Christ, Holy Living, Dissuasive from Popery, Letters to Persons changed or tempted to a change in their Religion*, and most fully in *The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament*. In the *Life of Christ*, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, in referring to the discourse at Capernaum, speaks of 'the mysterious and symbolical manducation of Christ Himself';¹ and, in connexion with the last Supper, says that our Lord 'gave His Body and Blood in Sacrament and religious configuration.'² In the *Fifth Letter* it is asserted that Christ 'is not' 'in the Blessed Sacrament' 'according to His human nature,' but 'is present there by His divine power, and His divine blessing, and the fruits of His Body, the real effective consequents of His passion.'³ In the *Dissuasive from Popery* and the *Real Presence and Spiritual* it is maintained at length that our Lord's words at the institution of the Sacrament were figurative, and that He is present in effect to the souls of faithful communicants. Among such statements are these:

'The symbols become changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, after a SACRAMENTAL, that is, in a SPIRITUAL, REAL manner, so that all that worthily communicate do by faith receive Christ really, effectually, to all the purposes of His passion.'⁴

'We say that Christ's Body is in the Sacrament really, but spiritually. They' [the 'Papists'] 'say it is there really, but spiritually. For so Bellarmine is bold to say, that the word may be allowed in this question. Where now is the difference? Here, by "spiritually" they mean "present after the manner of a spirit"; by "spiritually" we mean "present to our spirits only"; that is, so as Christ is not present to any other sense but that of faith, or spiritual susception. . . . We by the "real spiritual presence" of Christ do understand Christ to be present as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace; and this is all which we mean besides the tropical and figurative presence.'⁵

"Take, eat," and "This do," are as necessary to the Sacrament

¹ Taylor, *Works* (Eden's edition), ii. 557.

² *Op. cit.* ii. 606.

⁴ *Op. cit.* vi. 13.

³ *Op. cit.* vi. 669.

⁵ *Op. cit.* vi. 17.

as "Hoc est corpus," and declare that it is Christ's Body only in the use and administration ; and therefore not natural but spiritual.'¹

'He is in the Sacrament as He can be in a Sacrament, in the hearts of faithful receivers as He hath promised to be there ; that is, in the Sacrament mystically, operatively, as in a moral and divine instrument ; in the hearts of receivers by faith and blessing.'²

'His Body figuratively, tropically, representatively in being, and really in effect and blessing.'³

'That there is no implicit warrant' [for adoration] 'in the Sacramental words of "This is My Body" I have given very many reasons to evince, by proving the words to be Sacramental and figurative.'⁴

'Christ's Body and Blood are only present to faith and to the spirit.'⁵

A passage in *Holy Living* approaches more nearly to the receptionist view of Calvin than the passages already quoted ; but, like them, it is probably intended to express Virtualism rather than Receptionism. It is as follows :

'Believe, if thou art a worthy communicant, thou dost as verily receive Christ's Body and Blood to all effects and purposes of the Spirit as thou dost receive the blessed elements into thy mouth, that thou puttest thy finger to His hand, and thy hand into His side, and thy lips to His fontinel of blood, sucking life from His heart Dispute not concerning the secret of the mystery and the nicety of the manner of Christ's presence ; it is sufficient for thee that Christ shall be present to thy soul as an instrument of grace, as a pledge of the resurrection, as the earnest of glory and immortality, and as a means of many intermedial blessings. . . . Believe that Christ in the holy Sacrament gives thee His Body and His Blood. He that believes not this is not a Christian ; he that believes so much needs not to enquire further, nor to entangle his faith by disbelieving his sense.'⁶

Jeremy Taylor had a clearer idea about the Eucharistic sacrifice than would be thought likely merely from the consideration of his views as to the presence of our Lord in the Sacrament. And he recovered the thought of the connexion of the Eucharist with the pleading of Christ's sacrifice in heaven which was known to the Fathers and the Western liturgical and Greek writers of the Middle Ages, but lost by

¹ *Op. cit.* vi. 44.

² *Op. cit.* vi. 59, 60.

³ *Op. cit.* vi. 109.

⁴ *Op. cit.* vi. 163.

⁵ *Op. cit.* vi. 206.]

⁶ *Op. cit.* iii. 218.

the schoolmen and in the later Western theology. In *Holy Living* he writes,

'1. The celebration of the Holy Sacrament is the great mysteriousness of the Christian religion, and succeeds to the most solemn rite of natural and Judaical religion, the law of sacrificing . . . This the Son of God, Jesus Christ, God and Man, undertook, and finished by a sacrifice of Himself upon the altar of the cross.

'2. This sacrifice, because it was perfect, could be but one, and that once: but because the needs of the world should last as long as the world itself, it was necessary that there should be a perpetual ministry established, whereby this one sufficient sacrifice should be made eternally effectual to the several new arising needs of all the world, who should desire it or in any sense be capable of it.

'3. To this end Christ was made a priest for ever; He was initiated or consecrated on the cross, and there began His priesthood, which was to last till His coming to judgment. It began on earth, but was to last and be officiated in heaven, where He sits perpetually representing and exhibiting to the Father that great effective sacrifice which He offered on the cross, to eternal and never-failing purposes.

'4. As Christ is pleased to represent to the Father that great sacrifice as a means of atonement and expiation for all mankind, and with special purposes and intendment for all the elect, all that serve Him in holiness: so He hath appointed that the same ministry shall be done upon earth too, in our manner, and according to our proportion: and therefore hath constituted and separated an order of men who, by "showing forth the Lord's death" by sacramental representation, may pray unto God after the same manner that our Lord and High Priest does, that is, offer to God and represent in this solemn prayer and sacrament Christ as already offered

'5. As the ministers of the Sacrament do in a sacramental manner present to God the sacrifice of the cross by being imitators of Christ's intercession, so the people are sacrificers too in their manner: for besides that by saying "Amen" they join in the act of him that ministers, and make it also to be their own; so when they eat and drink the consecrated and blessed elements worthily, they receive Christ within them, and therefore may also offer Him to God, while in their sacrifice of obedience and thanksgiving they present themselves to God with Christ, whom they have spiritually received, that is, themselves with that which will make them gracious and acceptable.' ¹

¹ *Op. cit.* iii. 214, 215.

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One of the ablest theologians of the times of Charles I., the Commonwealth, and the Restoration, was Herbert Thorndike. His personal history, like that of many in the same period, was of some vicissitude. He was born in 1598, probably in Suffolk, though he came of a Lincolnshire family. In 1618 or 1619 he was appointed minor Fellow, and in 1620 middle or major Fellow, of Trinity College, Cambridge. An inference from the statutes of his College shows that he must have been ordained priest not later than 1627. He filled the office of University Preacher in 1631; he was Greek Reader of Trinity College in 1632, Senior Proctor in 1638, Head Lecturer of Trinity College in 1639. He received the appointment of Prebendary of Layton Ecclesia in Lincoln Cathedral in 1636, but resigned this Prebend because of a requirement of the College Statutes in 1640. In 1639 he became Vicar of Claybrook, near Lutterworth, and in 1642 Rector of Barley, in Hertfordshire. He was ejected from Barley in July 1643 under the Commonwealth. In September 1643 the Fellows of Sidney Sussex College elected him Master by a majority of one, but before the formalities of the election were completed the Parliamentary soldiers interfered and forcibly took away one of the Fellows who had voted for Thorndike, with the result of a tie of votes and the appointment of the other candidate, Richard Minshull to the office of Master. Thorndike was ejected from his Fellowship at Trinity in May 1646. On the Restoration he was reinstated as Fellow of Trinity and Rector of Barley. He resigned the latter post on being appointed Prebendary of Westminster in September 1661. He was a member of the Savoy Conference, and assisted in the revision of the Prayer Book. He died on July 11, 1672.

In view of the neglect with which Thorndike's works have met, and the slighting comments which have sometimes been made upon them, it may be well to recall the judgment of so competent a critic as Mr. Arthur Haddan. Mr. Haddan, writing in 1855, speaks of Thorndike's 'profound theological writings,' refers to his life as 'connected with one of the greatest literary achievements of English theological scholarship'; and,—after explaining the small degree of attention

which his works have received as due partly to the imperfections in his style with its cumbrous sentences and want of lucid arrangement, partly to the subjects treated, and partly to 'certain unpopular opinions, the bold avowal of which, together with a somewhat impracticable honesty of temper, stopped his advancement also during his life,' but chiefly to 'the general neglect of an unstudious age,'—goes on to say:

'It would not be easy to find elsewhere among English divines either so suggestive or so impartial a statement of the principles which regulate the relations between Church and State as his treatise on that subject contains; or so compact and systematic and yet profound a summary of the whole range of Christian doctrine as is supplied by his *Epilogue*; or any tract at all giving an entire view, such as that in his *Religious Assemblies*, of the principles as well as the constituent parts of the services of the primitive Church.'¹

Many references to the doctrine of the Eucharist are scattered about in Thorndike's writings. The most complete and systematic treatment of the subject is contained in the first five chapters of the third part of his great treatise entitled *An Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England; being a Necessary Consideration and Brief Resolution of the Chief Controversies in Religion that divide the Western Church; occasioned by the present Calamity of the Church of England: in three books, viz. of I. The Principles of Christian Truth, II. The Covenant of Grace, III. The Laws of the Church*, published in 1659.

In this treatise Thorndike refers in somewhat slighting terms to the 'opinions' of the 'factions' which maintain (1) Transubstantiation, or (2) Zwinglianism, which he describes as 'the opinion of the Socinians' or of the 'Sacramentaries,' or (3) Calvinism, or (4) Lutheranism. As it is of some importance to observe exactly what he meant by Transubstantiation, his definition of that 'opinion' may be quoted at length:

'The opinion of Transubstantiation . . . which importeth this,—that, in celebrating this Sacrament, upon pronouncing of the words with which our Lord delivered it to His disciples, "This is My Body, this is My Blood," the substance of the elements, bread and

¹ Thorndike, *Works* (*Anglo-Catholic Library*), vi. 155, 156.

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wine, ceaseth and is abolished, the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ coming into their stead, though under the species of bread and wine; that is to say, those accidents of them, which our senses witness that they remain.¹

After describing these four 'opinions,' Thorndike proceeds to affirm, and to support by arguments from Holy Scripture, the statement, in opposition to Transubstantiation,

'that the bodily substance of bread and wine is not abolished nor ceaseth in this Sacrament by virtue of the consecration of it.'²

His next point is that, while 'the nature and substance of bread and wine' remain 'in the Sacrament of the Eucharist even when it is a Sacrament, that is, when it is received,' yet it is no less true and supported by Scripture that there is also the presence

'of Christ's Body and Blood, brought forth and made to be in the Sacrament of the Eucharist by making it to be that Sacrament.'³

It is, he maintains, contrary to Scripture to hold either that 'the Sacrament of the Eucharist is a mere sign of the Body and Blood of Christ without any promise of spiritual grace' or that the elements are not the Body and Blood of Christ 'when they are received but become so upon being received by living faith.'⁴ Against these Zwinglian and Calvinistic views he asserts that

'we receive the Body and Blood of Christ, not only when we receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist, but also by receiving it;'⁵

that

'the Flesh and Blood of Christ be' in the Sacrament 'by virtue of the consecration of the elements into the Sacrament;'⁶

and that

'the Flesh and Blood of Christ' 'is necessarily in the Sacrament when it is eaten and drunk in it, in which if it were not, it could not be eaten and drunk in it.'⁷

¹ Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 4.

² *Op. cit.* iv. 6.

³ *Op. cit.* iv. 11.

⁴ *Op. cit.* iv. 13.

⁵ *Op. cit.* iv. 12.

⁶ *Op. cit.* iv. 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Explaining his meaning more fully, he says :

'Supposing the bread and the wine to remain in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, as sense informs and the word of God enforces ; if the same word of God affirm there to be also the Body and Blood of Christ, what remaineth but that bread and wine by nature and bodily substance be also the Bodily Flesh and Blood of Christ by mystical representation (in that sense which I determined even now) and by spiritual grace.'

¹

The 'sense' of 'representation' 'determined even now' is thus stated :

'Which kind of presence you may, if you please, call the *representation* of the sacrifice of Christ, so as you understand the word "representation" to signify, not the figuring or resembling of that which is only signified, but as it signifies in the Roman laws, when a man is said "*repraesentare pecuniam*" who pays ready money : deriving the signification of it a *re praesenti*, not from the preposition *re* ; which will import, not the presenting of that again to a man's senses, which once is past, but the tendering of that to a man's possession, which is tendered him upon the place.'

²

He emphasizes repeatedly that the presence is 'mystical', that this 'mystical' presence of the Body and Blood of Christ is a 'means to convey His Spirit,' and that the Holy Ghost 'makes the elements' 'the Body and Blood of Christ.'³ He refuses to define 'the manner of that which must be mystical', and what he means by asserting that the Body and Blood of Christ are present 'mystically.'⁴ He rejects the view that the 'mystical and spiritual presence of the Flesh and Blood of Christ in the elements' depends on the faith of the communicants.⁵ Consequently the Body and Blood of Christ are in some sense received even by those who communicate unworthily. 'For,' he says,

'that the Body and Blood of Christ should be sacramentally present in and under the elements (to be spiritually received of all that meet it with a living faith, to condemn those for crucifying Christ again that receive it with a dead faith), can it seem any way inconsequent to the consecration thereof by virtue of the common faith of

¹ Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 22.

² *Op. cit.* iv. 20.

³ *Op. cit.*, e.g. iv. 26, 27, 29, 32, 34, 47, 69, 77.

⁴ *Op. cit.* iv. 35, 36.

⁵ *Op. cit.* iv. 36.

Christians, professing that which is requisite to make true Christians, whether by a living or a dead faith?'¹

He rejects also the doctrine ascribed to the Lutherans, that 'the omnipresence of Christ's Godhead is communicated to His Flesh by virtue of the hypostatical union, so that the Body and Blood of Christ, being everywhere present, necessarily subsisteth in the dimensions of bread and wine in the Eucharist.'²

In a long and elaborate argument Thorndike maintains that the consecration is effected, not by the recital of the words 'This is My Body,' 'This is my Blood,' but by the use of prayer. This position he supports by urging that when our Lord said these words He had already by His acts of blessing and thanksgiving made the elements to be His Body and Blood, and by pointing out that the ancient Liturgies and the Fathers agree in representing prayer as the means of consecration.³

After this, he repeats, in many varying ways of expression, his rejection of the 'opinions' of the four 'factions,' and his affirmation of the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ. To quote passages which are representative of what he elaborates and illustrates at great length: he says,

'If it can any way be showed that the Church did ever pray that the Flesh and Blood might be substituted instead of the elements under the accidents of them, then I am content that this be counted henceforth the sacramental presence of them in the Eucharist. But if the Church only prays that the Spirit of God, coming down upon the elements, may make them the Body and Blood of Christ, so that they which received them may be filled with the grace of His Spirit; then is it not the sense of the Catholic Church that can oblige any man to believe the abolishing of the elements in their bodily substance: because, supposing that they remain, they may nevertheless become the instrument of God's Spirit, to convey the operation thereof to them that are disposed to receive it, no otherwise than His Flesh and Blood conveyed the efficacy thereof upon earth. And that, I suppose, is reason enough to call it the Body and Blood of Christ sacramentally, that

¹ Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 38: cf. 82.

² *Op. cit.* iv. 43.

³ *Op. cit.* iv. 50-68.

is to say, as in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. It is not here to be denied that all ecclesiastical writers do with one mouth bear witness to the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist. Neither will any one of them be found to ascribe it to anything but the consecration; or that to any faith but that upon which the Church professeth to proceed to the celebrating of it.¹

'They all [i.e. the Fathers] acknowledge the elements to be changed, translated, and turned into the substance of Christ's Body and Blood; though in a Sacrament, that is, mystically; yet, therefore, by virtue of the consecration, not of his faith that receives.'²

'The Canon of the Mass itself prays that the Holy Ghost coming down may make this bread and this cup the Body and Blood of Christ.'³ And, certainly, the Roman Mass expresses a manifest abatement of the common and usual sense of the Body and Blood of Christ unto that sense which is proper to the intent and subject of them who speak of this Sacrament, when the Church in the consecration prays "ut nobis corpus fiat dilectissimi filii tui domini nostri Jesu Christi"—"that they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to us." No man that understands Latin and sense will say, it is the same thing for the elements to become the Body and Blood of Christ as to become the Body and Blood of Christ to those that receive, which imports no more than that which I have said. And yet there is no more said in those Liturgies which pray that the Spirit of God may make them the Flesh and Blood of Christ to this intent and effect, that those which received them may be filled with the grace of His Spirit. For the expression of this effect and intent limits the common signification of the words to that which is proper to this action of the Eucharist; as I have delivered it.'⁴

'As it is by no means to be denied that the elements are really changed, translated, turned, and converted into the Body and Blood of Christ (so that whoso receiveth them with a living faith is spiritually nourished by the same, he that with a dead faith is guilty of crucifying Christ), yet is not this change destructive to the bodily substance of the elements, but cumulative of them with the spiritual grace of Christ's Body and Blood; so that the Body and

¹ Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 69.

² *Op. cit.* iv. 73.

³ A comparison of an earlier passage (*op. cit.* iv. 57) seems to show that Thorndike here referred to the prayer in the Canon of the Mass,

'Jube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui,' &c.

⁴ *Op. cit.* iv. 76, 77.

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Blood of Christ in the Sacrament turns to the nourishment of the body, whether the Body and Blood in the truth turn to the nourishment or the damnation of the soul.¹

In the same treatise, his *Epilogue*, Thorndike discusses the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice. At the outset of the discussion he connects the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist with the doctrine of the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the consecrated Sacrament which he has already maintained.

'Having showed,' he says, 'the presence[of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist because it is appointed that in it the faithful may feast upon the sacrifice of the cross, we have already showed by the Scriptures that it is the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross in the same sense and to the same effect as it containeth the Body and Blood of Christ which it representeth,² that is, mystically and spiritually and sacramentally (that is, as in and by a Sacrament) tendereth and exhibiteth. For seeing the Eucharist not only tendereth the Flesh and Blood of Christ, but separateth one from the other under and by several elements, as His Blood was parted from His Body by the violence of the cross, it must of necessity be as well the sacrifice as the Sacrament of Christ upon the cross.'³

He explains that there are four distinct parts or stages in the sacrifice of the Eucharist, namely, the oblation of the unconsecrated elements in the offertory, the offering of prayer in connexion with the intercession of Christ in heaven, the consecration in virtue of which 'the elements' 'are truly the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross inasmuch as the Body and Blood of Christ crucified are contained in them,' and the dedication to the service of God of the bodies and souls of those who receive the Sacrament.⁴

'The whole action,' he says, 'is that sacrifice by which the covenant of grace is renewed, restored, and established against the interruption of our failures.'⁵

¹ Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 81, 82.

² For Thorndike's use of 'represent' and 'representation,' see p. 66, *supra*.

³ *Op. cit.* iv. 98, 99 : cf. 101, 104, 112, 116.

⁴ *Op. cit.* iv. 106-118.

⁵ *Op. cit.* iv. 119.

Thorndike emphasizes his belief that reception of Communion and offering of prayer are necessary parts of the sacrifice. After affirming that 'the Sacrament of the Eucharist' is 'a propitiatory and impetratory sacrifice by virtue of the consecration,' he proceeds,

'If from hence any man would infer that, seeing the Sacrament of the Eucharist (that is to say, the Body and Blood of Christ crucified there present by virtue of the consecration) is a propitiatory and impetratory sacrifice for the congregation there present, for their relations, and for the Church, therefore it is so whether they proceed to receive the Eucharist or not, therefore it is so whether they proceed to offer up the Eucharist present by their prayers for the necessities of the Church or not, therefore it is so whether they pray with the Church or not, the consequence will straight appear to fail, because those reasons which make it such a sacrifice make it so in order to the receiving, or to the offering, of it by the prayers of the Church in behalf of the Church.'¹

He maintains, further, that all the parts of the sacrifice are found in the Eucharist as celebrated in the Church of England in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer.²

It is of interest to notice that Thorndike, like Bishop Jeremy Taylor, had recovered, probably through his wide and accurate knowledge of the Liturgies and the writings of the Fathers, the idea of the connexion of the Eucharistic sacrifice with the Offering of our Lord in heaven which had to a large extent been out of sight in the West for a long time. Regarding, as he does, the Eucharist as a commemoration of Christ's death, inasmuch as it is the Lord who was crucified who is present in the consecrated elements, and laying stress on the separate elements as marking the separation of the Body and the Blood in our Lord's death on the cross, he explains also that the Eucharist is sacrificial because in it there is done on earth that which our Lord does in heaven.

'After the consecration is past, having showed you that St. Paul hath appointed that at the celebration of the Eucharist "prayers, supplications, and intercessions be made for all" estates of the world and of the Church; and that the Jews have no right to the

¹ Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 120, 121.

² *Op. cit.* iv. 134, 135.

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Eucharist (according to the Epistle to the Hebrews) because, though Eucharistical, yet it is of that kind the blood whereof is offered to God within the veil, with prayers for all estates of the world, as Philo and Josephus inform us; seeing the same apostle hath so plainly expounded us the accomplishment of that figure in the offering of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross to the Father in the highest heavens to obtain the benefits of His passion for us, and that the Eucharist is nothing else but the representation¹ here upon earth of that which is done there: these things, I say, considered, necessarily it follows that whoso believes the prayers of the Church, made in our Lord's name, do render God propitious to them for whom they are made, and obtain for them the benefits of Christ's death (which he that believes not is no Christian), cannot question that those which are made by St. Paul's appointment at the celebration of the Eucharist, offering up unto God the merits and sufferings of Christ there represented, must be peculiarly and especially effectual to the same purposes.²

In several passages in these early chapters of the third part of the *Epitome*, one of which has been quoted above,³ Thorndike lays great stress on the need of receiving the Holy Communion if there is to be participation in the Eucharistic sacrifice. In a later chapter he writes strongly on the need of all who are prepared receiving Communion at each celebration, but recognizes that circumstances may justify some who are present at the Eucharist not communicating on all occasions.

'I say not, therefore, that whosoever communicates not in the Eucharist, so oft as he has means and opportunity to do it, renounces his Christianity either expressly or by construction and consequence. For how many of us may be prevented with the guilt of sin, so deeply staining the conscience that they cannot satisfy themselves in the competence of that conversion to God which they have time and reason and opportunity to exercise before the opportunity of communicating? How many have need of the authority of the Church and the power of the keys, not only for their satisfaction, but for their direction, in washing their wedding garments white again? How many are so distracted and oppressed with business of this world that they cannot upon all opportunities retire their thoughts to

¹ See pp. 66, 69, *supra*.

² Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 107, 108.

³ See p. 70, *supra*.

that attention and devotion which the office requires? How many, though free of business which Christianity enjoineth, are entangled with the cares and pleasures of the world, though not so far as to depart from the state of grace, yet further than the renewing of the covenant of grace importeth? Be it therefore granted that there is a great allowance to be made in exacting the apostolical rule for all that are present to communicate.¹

The many references to the Eucharist elsewhere in Thorndike's voluminous writings add little to what is contained on this subject in the third part of the *Epitome*, from which our quotations have hitherto been made. But there are a few passages which deserve notice for their bearing on some special point.

In the twenty-fifth chapter of *The Reformation of the Church of England better than that of the Council of Trent*, written during the last two years of his life, Thorndike, like Hooker before him, endeavoured to find some common ground of agreement for those who disagree in much as to the doctrine of the Eucharist. Hooker had maintained that, provided there could be agreement that the Body and Blood of Christ are received by faithful communicants, all else might, as terms of communion, be left open in the Church.² Thorndike was inclined to require somewhat more; and sought for the common ground, not in the reception of the Body and Blood of Christ by faithful communicants, but in the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament by virtue of the consecration in accordance with the institution of our Lord.

'If this were agreed upon, which cannot be resisted but by Socinians and Fanatics—that the Body and Blood of Christ become present in the Sacrament by the institution of our Lord by celebrating the Sacrament, whereby His institution is executed by consecrating the elements to the purpose that the Body and Blood of Christ may be received—the whole dispute concerning the manner of presence in the nature of the formal cause might be superseded. For then all parties must agree that they are present sacramentally, as the nature of a Sacrament requireth. And that, as it would be enough to make

¹ Thorndike, *op. cit.* iv. 569, 570: cf. v. 175.

² See Part VI. of this article, *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1903, pp. 339, 340.

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them "guilty of the Body and Blood" of Christ [that "eat and drink"] unworthily," so it would still require living faith to make that presence effectual to all that receive it ; which all parties are obliged to require to the effect, as much as they are obliged to require consecration to the sacramental presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament.'¹

In a later chapter of the same treatise Thorndike refers incidentally to the reservation of the Sacrament for the Communion of the sick.

'Thus far I will particularize, as concerning the Eucharist, that the Church is to endeavour the celebrating of it so frequently that it may be reserved to the next Communion. For in the meantime it ought to be so ready for them that pass into the other world that they need not stay for the consecrating of it on purpose for every one. The reason of the necessity of it for all, which hath been delivered, aggravates it very much in danger of death. And the practice of the Church attests it to the utmost. Neither will there be any necessity of giving it in one kind only, as by some passages of antiquity may be collected, if common reason could deceive in a subject of this nature.'²

In a later chapter, again, he condemns the practice of carrying the Sacrament through the streets for the purpose of adoration, and the command of the Church of Rome for adoration at the consecration on the ground of that command having been issued in connexion with the doctrine of Transubstantiation ; but asserts that it is right and in accordance with patristic teaching for 'reverence' to be 'tendered to our Lord Christ as present in the Sacrament,' and allows adoration of our Lord in the Sacrament 'when it passes the streets in order to Communion.'³

The study of the writings of Thorndike, Jeremy Taylor, Cosin, and the author of the first series of notes on the Book of Common Prayer ascribed to Cosin in the *Anglo-Catholic Library*, shows much difference in belief as to the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. With whatever qualifications and safeguards, Thorndike maintained that the consecrated bread and wine are the Body and Blood of Christ. The writer of the

¹ Thorndike, *op. cit.* v. 544.

² *Op. cit.* v. 578.

³ *Op. cit.* v. 585, 586.

notes on the Prayer Book held the same belief, though it is probable that he had given little consideration to the abstruse and complicated questions in which Thorndike's subtle and powerful mind took delight. On the other hand, Cosin and Jeremy Taylor appear to have regarded the effect of consecration as being to set apart the bread and wine to a sacred use, so that, when they are received, faithful communicants receive also the Body and Blood of Christ, or the virtue of them. In the existence of and the limits to these differences, the policy of the reign of Elizabeth maintained its success. We do not find in the time of Charles II. theologians of the Church of England accepting Transubstantiation. Nor are there traces of the Zwinglian view that the Sacrament is no more than a token of Christian fellowship and the elements no more than bare symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ. Between those extremes we do find widely differing beliefs. And it may be worth notice that Thorndike, agreeing with Hooker in himself repudiating Transubstantiation, and, though taking a different point as the centre, seeking like Hooker a common ground, agreed with him also in stating the basis of a possible agreement in such a way as not necessarily to involve the rejection of Transubstantiation.

XXII. In the latter part of the reign of Charles II. and in the reign of James II. many pamphlets were published in England attacking the Church of Rome. Some of these were wholly or partly directed against the doctrines ascribed to the Church of Rome in regard to the Eucharist. We have prefixed the titles of four such pamphlets to the present part of this article. The writers of them reject Transubstantiation; the definition of the Council of Trent that the Eucharist is a 'proper sacrifice'; and the view, supposed to be accepted by some Roman Catholics, that in the Mass Christ died anew. Their positive view is less clearly stated. It is probable that they believed in the spiritual communion with our Lord of faithful recipients by means of the Sacrament; and held that the Eucharist was in some sense a setting forth of the sacrifice of the death of Christ. Thus, one of them writes,

'A sacrifice is one thing, and a *true and proper sacrifice* is another. As the Church of England, and, I suppose, every other Protestant

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Church, asserts a sacrifice ; so, I fear, no Liturgy of the Church of Rome can be produced, preceding the Council of Trent, in which it is called a true and proper sacrifice.¹

'The Church of England doth not quarrel at the name of sacrifice ; she not only grants, but asserts, that the Eucharist is a commemorative and representative sacrifice. And this was the meaning of the ancient Fathers, who frequently call it a remembrance or commemoration, a resemblance or representation of the sacrifice which Christ once offered upon the cross. And this is as much as Cassander seems to mean by it. But this will not satisfy the present Church of Rome ; but Christ (as they will have it) is truly and properly sacrificed ; that is, according to their own notion of a sacrifice, Christ is truly and properly put to death as oft as the priest says Mass. For in a true sacrifice (as Bellarmine tells us) the thing sacrificed must be destroyed ; and, if it be a thing that hath life, it must be killed. And so indeed many of the Romanists roundly assert that Christ every day is by the Mass-priest.'²

XXIII. The accession of William III. and Mary led to the formation of the religious body separated from the Church of England known as the Nonjurors. The Archbishop of Canterbury and eight other bishops refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new king and queen. Three of these bishops died shortly after. The rest were deprived of their sees by process of law. At the same time about four hundred of the clergy were deprived of their benefices. The Nonjurors included very many of the best men in the Church of England ; and the separation caused a grievous loss to the Church.

An excellent instance of the teaching current among the Nonjurors, and among some of those who remained in the Church of England, as to the Holy Eucharist, may be found in the book by John Johnson, vicar of Cranbrook in Kent, entitled *The Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar, unveiled and supported, in which the Nature of the Eucharist is explained according to the Sentiments of the Christian Church in the four first Centuries*. Johnson himself was not a Nonjuror, but took the oaths and remained in possession of his benefice to the end of his life. He was on friendly terms with the

¹ *The Necessity of Reformation*, pt. ii. p. 107.

² *Op. cit.* pt. i. p. 41.

leading Nonjurors, and his doctrinal position appears to have been the same as theirs. His definition of sacrifice is as follows :

'Sacrifice is, 1. Some material thing, either animate or inanimate, offered to God, 2. For the acknowledging the dominion and other attributes of God, or for procuring Divine blessings, especially remission of sin, 3. Upon a proper altar (which yet is rather necessary for the external decorum than the internal perfection of the sacrifice), 4. By a proper officer, and with agreeable rites, 5. And consumed or otherwise disposed of in such a manner as the Author of the sacrifice has appointed.'¹

Johnson then proceeds to maintain at great length that the five points which he has specified are necessary to sacrifice ; and that the Eucharist has them all, and is therefore a 'proper sacrifice.' He states

'That material bread and wine, as the sacramental Body and Blood of Christ, were by a solemn act of oblation in the Eucharist, offered to Almighty God in the primitive Church, and that they were so offered by Christ Himself in the institution ;'²

'That the Eucharistical bread and wine, or Body and Blood, are to be offered for the acknowledgment of God's dominion and other attributes, and for procuring Divine blessings, especially remission of sin ;'³

'That the Communion Table is a proper Altar ;'⁴

'That bishops and priests are the only proper officers for the solemn offering and consecrating of the Christian Eucharist ;'⁵

'That the sacrifice of the Eucharist is rightly consumed by being solemnly eaten and drunk by the priest, clergy, and people.'⁶

In the course of this long discussion Johnson describes the Eucharist as an 'expiatory' and 'propitiatory,' as well as a 'proper,' sacrifice. For instance, he says :

'The other end of this sacrifice is to procure Divine blessings, and especially pardon of sin. In the first respect it is propitiatory, in the second expiatory, by virtue of its principal, the grand sacrifice.'⁷

The subject of the book, as the name denotes, is the sacrifice in the Eucharist, not the Eucharistic presence ; but

¹ Johnson, *The Unbloody Sacrifice*, i. 71 (*Anglo-Catholic Library*).

² *Op. cit.* i. 86.

³ *Op. cit.* i. 360.

⁴ *Op. cit.* i. 402.

⁵ *Op. cit.* i. 418.

⁶ *Op. cit.* i. 441.

⁷ *Op. cit.* i. 384.

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the treatment of the doctrine of the sacrifice naturally involves some consideration of the doctrine of the presence also. Johnson says many times that the elements are after consecration the 'Body and Blood' of Christ, or His 'spiritual Body and Blood,' or 'sacramental Body and Blood,' or 'Eucharistical Body and Blood.'¹ But he further explains that Christ does not literally offer Himself in the Eucharist; that He is not personally there present in His human nature;² and that the bread and wine are His 'very Body and Blood' 'not in substance, but in power and effect,'³ or 'in inward life and spirit.'⁴ Thus, in one passage, he says:

'That which renders the Eucharist the most excellent and valuable sacrifice that was ever offered, except the personal sacrifice of Christ, is this, that the bread and wine, then offered, are in mystery and inward power, though not in substance, the Body and Blood of Christ. This raises the dignity of the Christian sacrifice above those of the law of Moses, and all that were ever offered by mere men. As it is natural bread and wine, it is the sacrifice of Melchisedec and of the most ancient philosophers; as it is the sacrifice of the sacramental Body and Blood of Christ, it is the most sublime and Divine sacrifice that men or angels can offer.'⁵

Putting together all which Johnson says on the subject, it appears that he held the consecrated elements to be in virtue and power, not actually, the Body and Blood of Christ. That this virtual presence was conferred at consecration, and permanently bestowed on the elements, he thought proved by the practice of the ancient Church in reserving the Sacrament, as well as by the language in which the writers of antiquity refer to it.

'They believed the Eucharist to be made the Body and Blood, not by the faith of the communicant, but by the power of the Holy Ghost, or Divine benediction, imparted to it by means of the invocation (I mean perfectly and finally imparted by this means, not exclusively of the words of institution and the oblation). And this I suppose fully appears from those authorities above cited. . . . And this further appears from their way of distributing the Communion, which has been before mentioned. The administrator affirms what

¹ Johnson, *op. cit.*, e.g. i. 266, 267, 341. ² *Op. cit.* i. 200, 201.

³ *Op. cit.* i. 251.

⁴ *Op. cit.* ii. 73.

⁵ *Op. cit.* ii. 86.

he gives to be the Body and Blood without any certain knowledge whether the receiver had faith or not ; the receiver answers " Amen," and by this gives his assent and consent to the affirmation of the administrator, before he had actually received what was held forth to him. And, indeed, if the Eucharist were not the Body and Blood before distribution, it could not be made so by any post-fact of the communicants ; for faith can give existence to nothing, cannot alter the nature of things. But I apprehend that this may be further proved from the practice of the primitive Church, in reserving some part of the Eucharistical bread and wine ; for this proves not only that they thought it the Body and Blood, without any respect to the faith of the receiver, but that its consecration was permanent, and remained after the holy action was at an end. What was not received by any at the Holy Table could not there be made the Body and Blood by the faith of the communicant ; and yet if they did not believe it to be the Body and Blood, for what purpose should they reserve it ?¹

In very vehement language he denies an insinuation that it was his practice to elevate the elements after consecration :

' I never elevated the elements after consecration ; nay I believe it horrible superstition in those that do it, if any such there be ; and I do further solemnly declare it to be my sentiment, that to elevate and adore the Sacrament, according to the practice of the Church of Rome, is downright idolatry.'²

During the years from 1716 to 1725 a lengthy correspondence took place between the Nonjurors and the Bishops of the Greek Church. Isolated from the Church of England, recognizing great barriers dividing them from the foreign Protestants, repudiating much in the teaching and practice of the Church of Rome, it was not unnatural that they should desire to enter Communion with the Churches of the East. A list of ' proposals ' made by the Nonjurors, dated August 18, 1716, contained a statement of points of agreement and disagreement between them and the Easterns. Among the latter it was said,

' Though they [*i.e.* the Nonjurors] believe a divine mystery in the Holy Eucharist, through the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the

¹ Johnson, *op. cit.* i. 341, 342.

² *Op. cit.* ii. 25.

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elements, whereby the faithful do verily and indeed receive the Body and Blood of Christ, they believe it yet to be after a manner which flesh and blood cannot conceive. And seeing no sufficient ground from Scripture or Tradition to determine the manner of it, are for leaving it indefinite and undetermined, so that every one may freely, according to Christ's own institution and meaning, receive the same in faith, and may also worship Christ in spirit, as verily and indeed present, without being obliged to worship the sacred symbols of his presence.'¹

On the Greek Bishops objecting to this statement about the Eucharist, the Nonjurors, in a document drawn up in 1722, strongly repudiated Transubstantiation, and went on to say,

'The elements are changed into a Divine thing, *i.e.* raised to a Divine efficacy by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Which change we most willingly confess, viz. that there is a mystic virtue and supernatural force transfused upon the Eucharistic elements by the priest's pronouncing the words of Institution and his prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost.'²

¹ Williams, *The Orthodox and the Nonjurors*, pp. 9-10.

² *Op. cit.* p. 98.

(*To be concluded.*)

ART. IV.—WELSH METHODISM: ITS ORIGIN AND GROWTH.

1. *Life and Times of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror.* By the Rev. DAVID JONES, Vicar of Penmaenmawr. (London: S.P.C.K., 1902.)
2. *Life and Labours of the Rev. T. Charles, A.B., late of Bala.* By the Rev. EDWARD MORGAN, M.A., Vicar of Syston. (London, 1828.)
3. *Wales and the Welsh Church.* By HENRY T. EDWARDS, M.A., Dean of Bangor. (London: Rivingtons, 1889.)
4. *An Essay on the Church in the Principality of Wales.* By JUDGE JOHNES of Garthmyl. (London: Hatchard and Son, 1832.)
5. *Methodism in Wales: Quarterly Review*, October 1849.
6. *Epitome of Anglican Church History.* By E. WEBLEY-PARRY. (Carmarthen: William Spurrell, 1879.)

THE religious character and traditions of the Welsh people have altered so little within the last hundred years that the connexion between the events of 1811, when the Methodists in a body left the pale of the National Church, and the present ecclesiastical position in the Principality is far closer than many people would naturally imagine. Though the internal history of the Welsh Church during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries undoubtedly affords melancholy reading, such an excuse ought not to deter the interested inquirer from tracing carefully the course of the religious revival; for, apart from the intrinsic importance of this movement, the story of the rise of Welsh Methodism and of the lives of its four chief authors—Griffith Jones, Howel Harris, Daniel Rowland, and Thomas Charles—will supply the keynote to not a few of the difficulties of the Church question as it exists in Wales to-day.

Before entering directly on our subject, let us first draw a rapid picture of Wales in the early years of George I. The total population of the country was under 500,000 souls,

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about one-third of its present numbers ; it boasted no cities greater than second-rate country towns, such as Wrexham, Bangor, Carmarthen or Brecon ; its inhabitants were purely agricultural in character and scattered over immense areas ; its parish churches were, with few exceptions, small and often inconveniently situated ; by far the greater part of the land consisted of unenclosed bog, heath and sheep-walk. Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire and East Carmarthenshire, to-day great centres of industry with a teeming and increasing population, were at that time thinly peopled districts similar to the present Cardiganshire or Montgomeryshire ; Cardiff, Merthyr Tydfil, Newport, Swansea and Llanelly, were little better than large villages or small market towns ; whilst such important places as Dowlais, Barry, Tredegar and Mountain Ash did not exist. In politics the squirearchy and clergy were High Church and Jacobite—nowhere did Dr. Sacheverell meet with a warmer welcome than in Wales—and though disinclined to rush to arms against the existing order of things, like the Scotch Legitimists, were looked upon with disfavour and suspicion by the home Government ; the people of Wales, knowing and caring little for passing events in London, generally professed the same views as their landlords and parsons. For literature Wales possessed the Elizabethan translations of the Scriptures made by Bishop Davies, Bishop Morgan, William Salesbury, and Archdeacon Prys, together with the homely, practical verses of Rees Pritchard, vicar of Llandovery, familiarly termed 'the Vicar' throughout his native land. Though Romanism had been stamped out west of the Severn more firmly than in any other part of Great Britain, many beliefs and practices derived from the old unreformed faith still survived, the peasants paying more attention to many quaint and picturesque religious customs than to the exhortations heard in the churches. As to real Nonconformity, there was little in existence, and that little in no flourishing condition, especially in North Wales, where only six Dissenting communities were to be found. The Welsh people were therefore, as a whole, at least nominally attached to their Church, to which alone they looked for guidance, reform and teaching, there being no other power in

all Wales at that time to supply the void in the life and aspirations of her population.

It must not, however, be inferred from the above statement as to the weakness of Nonconformity that the churches were filled with attentive congregations, for both the gentry and peasantry of the early eighteenth century were, generally speaking, careless of all religious duties and much addicted to such sports as cock-fighting, wrestling, and a rough species of football; indeed, the parish church itself often served as a focus to draw the neighbouring squires, farmers and labourers on a Sunday from their distant and scattered homes, not to hear prayers and sermons, but to meet in the churchyard and indulge in these characteristic national sports, particularly that of cock-fighting. The evenings were usually occupied by noisy musical meetings, frequently leading to drunkenness and immorality.

'In those days the land was dark indeed! Hardly any of the lower ranks could read at all, the morals of the country were very corrupt; and in this respect there was no difference between gentle and simple, layman and clergyman. Gluttony, drunkenness and licentiousness prevailed throughout the whole country. Nor were the operations of the Church at all calculated to repress these evils. From the pulpit the name of the Redeemer was hardly ever heard; nor was much mention made of the natural sinfulness of man, nor of the influence of the Spirit. On Sunday mornings the poor were more constant in their attendance at church than the gentry; but the Sunday evenings were spent by all in idle amusements. Every Sabbath there was what was called a "chwareu-gamp," a sort of sport in which all the young men of the neighbourhood had a trial of strength, and the people assembled from the surrounding country to see their feats. On Saturday nights, particularly in the summer, the young men and maids held what they called "singing-eves" (*nos-weithiau canu*); that is, they met together and diverted themselves by singing in turns to the harp till the dawn of the Sabbath. In this town [*Bala*] they used to employ the Sundays in dancing and singing to the harp, and in playing tennis against the town hall. In every corner of the town some sport or other went on till the light of the Sabbath-day had faded away. In the summer "interludes" (a kind of rustic drama) were performed, gentlemen and peasants sharing the diversion together.'¹

¹ *The Trysorva*, of 1799.

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Such was Wales in the early part of the eighteenth century: illiterate, irreligious, given over to degrading or frivolous sports, to superstition, to immorality, to hard drinking. The land was ripe for a religious and social awakening; and it is no small comfort, in the face of the subsequent story of neglect and misgovernment, to dwell upon the fact that the revival, both of education and religion, came to Wales through the exertions of a clergyman of her Established Church, who had for his chief supporters and sympathizers two members of the Welsh aristocracy, a class too often ignorantly and unfairly abused. It is to Griffith Jones, rector of Llanddowror, that this great reformation of ideas and morals is due—a noble and enduring work, in which he was greatly assisted, in its early days, by Sir John Philipps, of Pictou Castle, a Welsh baronet and head of one of the oldest families in Pembrokeshire, and later by the purse and energy of Mrs. Bridget Bevan, of Laugharne, by birth a Vaughan of Derllys and widow of a wealthy lawyer. Ordained by the celebrated Dr. Bull, bishop of St. Davids, in 1708, and presented to the humble little rectory of Llanddowror, near Laugharne, in South Carmarthenshire, by his kind friend and patron, Sir John Philipps, Griffith Jones lost little time in putting his great scheme of religious education into execution, beginning with his own parish, and thence extending his system of popular instruction into all parts of Wales.

“ . . . Mr. Jones devised a scheme whereby he hoped to stir up and encourage a desire for learning both in young and old. This was by means of circulating charity schools—a system hitherto unknown—in which instruction was given in the Welsh language. As it was impossible to establish permanent schools in all the districts requiring them, he thought he could meet the necessities of the case by placing schools in different parts for a certain limited time, where the poor might be taught, free of expense, to read their own language, and where they might be instructed in the first truths of the Christian religion. . . . They were intended to prepare the poor and ignorant people and their children to receive further instruction from their clergyman. The schoolmasters were directed to have Morning and Evening Prayer, to teach their scholars to read the word of God in their native language, to instruct them in the words and meaning of the Church Catechism, and to teach them their duty to

God and man. They were also to teach them to sing a psalm and answer the responses reverently in divine service, and were desired to bring their scholars to the parish church. Each master was supplied with a copy of these rules. The men qualified for the work of teaching were to be communicants of the Church of England, and the clergyman of the parish in which they were placed was requested to take charge of both masters and scholars, in order to see that the latter were duly instructed, and that if any masters were negligent or disorderly they might be dismissed. By these arrangements their founder hoped that the undertaking might "defy calumny and slander, while the schools were conducted agreeably to the teaching of the Church."¹

The results obtained by this system were speedy and successful beyond the wildest hopes of its founder.

¹ This educational system, founded and maintained by the unaided energy of a simple Welsh clergyman, numbered at one time two hundred schools, which contained an aggregate of 8,687 contemporary scholars. It is recorded, on unquestionable authority, that within a period of twenty-four years no less than 150,212 of his countrymen (constituting more than a fourth of the then population of Wales) were taught to read the Scriptures in their native Cymric language in these schools, established and maintained by the unaided exertions of this native Cymric clergyman . . . Few men, in any age or country, in so humble a position have exercised a nobler or a wider influence.²

In 1761 Griffith Jones died in the house of his devoted friend and helper, Mrs. Bevan, who contrived to carry on herself the deceased founder's work, a self-imposed task that she gallantly undertook for sixteen years. At her death in 1777 this noble woman, who surely may be ranked as one of the saints of the British Church, left the sum of 10,000*l.*, a very large amount of money in Wales at that period, for the completion of the system begun by Griffith Jones, and continued with a fair measure of success by herself. Had this money (which was to have been judiciously vested in trustees of the donor's own choosing), been immediately forthcoming, much might still have been accomplished to the

¹ E. Wbley-Parry, *Epitome of Anglican Church History.*

² Dean Edwards, *Wales and the Welsh Church.*

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advantage of the Church ; but by a singularly unlucky chance Mrs. Bevan's will was disputed by a wealthy relative, so that it was not until after some thirty years of litigation had elapsed that this legacy was finally secured. Though the original sum had been trebled in the interval, the system which it had been expressly bequeathed to support had meanwhile vanished for want of funds ; whilst in the intervening years the Methodists, under the guidance of Thomas Charles of Bala, supplied the void in the religious and educational life of the country by establishing new circulating schools, both for adults and children, on the old model ; so that by the time of the great schism in 1811 the seceding Methodists had come to be regarded as the true instructors of the Welsh people, thereby reaping not only the fruits of their own zeal and industry in later times, but also those of Griffith Jones's earlier and strictly orthodox labours. By a curious coincidence, 'Madam Bevan's Charity' (as this fund is still called in the Principality) was legally assigned to the Welsh Church in the very year which saw the exodus of the Methodist party from its fold, a circumstance which rendered this magnificent bequest practically useless.

Setting aside the labours of Mrs. Bevan after Griffith Jones's death, let us once more take a rapid glance at the condition of Wales in 1761, comparing it with the account already given of some forty years before. Whereas in 1720 the whole of the lower classes were irreligious and illiterate, we find in 1761, by the clear light of contemporary statistics, that over one-third of the total population had been taught to read and write in the interval, and that a reverent God-fearing spirit was rapidly possessing the country, to the exclusion of widespread folly and vice. A native press had meanwhile sprung into existence to meet the consequent demand for books in the vernacular which had followed the spread of the circulating schools' system. Wales had, in fact, been awakened, and the revival was already half complete at the death of its illustrious author, who had guided his countrymen into the paths of godliness, of learning, almost of civilization, under the auspices of the Welsh National Church. It will at once be asked how this movement, already

so successful in its results, came to be checked ; and how the flowing tide of religious education came to be turned aside from the main current of the Church into the channels of Dissent. The late Dean Edwards of Bangor, whose spirited and impartial essays on Welsh Church history, both past and present, deserve to be more widely known, sums up both situation and answer with terrible brevity :

'In dark days Griffith Jones taught 150,212 souls to read the Welsh Bible. With intelligence came spiritual thirst. A ministry frozen at the fountain-head could not satisfy it.'

This wonderful work of a clergyman of the Established Church, which was converting all Wales, and which was heartily approved by the English Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, was looked upon coldly, if not unfavourably, by the Welsh bishops under whom Griffith Jones served. It is a matter of past history that the Georgian prelates were in too many instances unworthy of their high position and careless of the welfare of their sees ; but it might have been expected that such labours and results as those described above would have received some reward or mark of recognition. But no promotion of any kind seems ever to have been offered to the Rector of Llanddowror during his long career of over forty years ; even the very benefice he held, which gave him his position in the Church and his small means of livelihood, had been presented to him by Sir John Philipps before ever he had become famous and his name a household word wherever the Welsh language was spoken. So marked was this neglect on the part of those whose obvious duty would naturally have been to assist, praise, and reward his work, that even the gentle and unselfish parson could not refrain, though only on one occasion, and then in the mildest of terms, from expressing his surprise and disappointment at the utter lack of interest taken in his scheme by the spiritual Fathers of the Welsh Church. On behalf of the bishops it may be urged that they did not actually oppose the introduction of the circulating schools, though efforts from interested sources were made to raise their hands against it ; but this scanty show of toleration was probably due in

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the first place to Griffith Jones's own tact and undoubted orthodoxy, and, in the second, to his intimacy with such powerful and wealthy persons as Sir John Philipps and Mrs. Bevan. Nevertheless, in the matter of religious publications in the vernacular some of the bishops assisted and subscribed, so that it is scarcely fair in the light of these facts to say that the system of circulating schools was deliberately hindered by the higher clergy of the time, though to-day such an impression widely prevails. The attitude of the Georgian bishops towards the rector of Llanddowror and his work may be summed up as one of cold disapproval, with occasional but grudging assistance—an attitude which may be termed favourable only when compared with that of their successors in the latter half of the century towards the efforts of Rowland and Charles.

We now come to Howel Harris of Trevecca and Daniel Rowland of Llangeitho, two names which, being contemporaneous, are often bracketed together, though it will soon be perceived that these men had little in common of either character or ideas. The former of this pair was born at Trevecca, in the parish of Talgarth, Breconshire, in 1714. Of easy circumstances and of fairly good social position, Harris was originally destined for the Church, but in 1735, under the influence of Whitefield, he began to establish small religious societies of Methodist Churchmen in South Wales. At one of these meetings Harris made the acquaintance of Daniel Rowland, curate-in-charge of Llangeitho, and the two together visited various parts both of England and Wales on their religious mission. Whilst still under the canonical age Harris had been impatient to take orders, and expressed great indignation at Bishop Clagett's refusal to ordain him until properly qualified—a not unnatural enforcement of discipline, which the hot-headed aspirant never forgave.

'The impatience of Harris at first, and his subsequent perseverance in a course of zeal which sat in judgment upon regular authority, seem to have prevented his becoming a clergyman. Yet, if his attachment to the Church was not consistent, it was genuine in its kind. His societies were founded on the model of those of Dr. Woodward; his school at Trevecca was held for a time in the parish

church, and the whole tone of his life and mind is enthusiastic rather than sectarian.¹

Before very long these two fiery preachers, one a beneficed clergyman and the other a layman, quarrelled and separated, Harris retiring to Trevecca, which he enlarged and turned into an institution best described as a Methodist monastery, whither he invited all pious persons anxious to pass the remainder of their lives in devotion and seclusion. These 'monks,' who in 1754 numbered one hundred strong, assembled thrice daily at stated intervals for prayer, attended the parish church of Talgarth on Sundays (a transept of the building being specially reserved for the recluses of Trevecca), and ate their meals in common. So closely did the rules of life at Trevecca resemble those of a Continental monastery that Harris and his followers daily held a service corresponding to Lauds or Prime at some hour between midnight and daybreak, a custom that is alluded to in the following verse by a contemporary Welsh bard :

'With him, within Trevecca's walls,
Prayer—long before the dawn—is found ;
Whilst yet the reign of slumber falls
In listless dreams on all around.'

But, though wilful and erratic to the last degree, Harris was by no means deaf to the call of public duty, and in 1759, under the general alarm of a French invasion, the hermit of Trevecca, on being warmly pressed by the Lord-Lieutenant of Brecknockshire to serve his country by a course of military training, readily came forth from his retreat and accepted a commission in the newly assembled Militia at Brecon, twenty-four of his 'monks' following their leader's example and entering the ranks as recruits. For three years this extraordinary man remained in arms, preaching in hours of leisure, by special permission of the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, to the Militiamen then in training at Brecon, and finally retiring into private, or rather monastic, life at the declaration of peace with the rank of captain. It is not

¹ *Quarterly Review*, 1849: 'Methodism in Wales.'

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difficult to prove from this picturesque incident that Harris, in spite of his sad reputation for unorthodoxy and disobedience among the bishops, was fully amenable to reason, and that it only required tact and persuasion to turn his sterling qualities to use. If the leading magistrate of Brecon was able to change this wilful recluse into a good citizen and soldier, the chief clergy should never have allowed Harris's undoubted talents and virtues to have been lost to the service of the Church. Howel Harris died at Trevecca in 1773, his last wish being that he should be buried beneath the altar of his parish church of Talgarth, where he and his followers had for nearly twenty years past been in the habit of attending the services and receiving a monthly Sacrament, and where he himself had first been awakened to a true view of Christian duty by the preaching of Griffith Jones.

Howel Harris, though in close connexion with such persons as Whitefield and Selina Lady Huntingdon, can scarcely be described otherwise than as a brilliant, if eccentric, lay member of the Church, of which he was all his life a regular and consistent communicant; but such is not the case with his former friend and colleague, Daniel Rowland. Born in 1713, this remarkable man, who may in a special sense be termed the Father of modern Welsh Methodism, evidently aspired to become the successor of Griffith Jones; for which position he was in many ways well fitted, being a beneficed clergyman of undoubted piety and ability, though deficient in the patience and personal modesty which were among the Rector of Llanddowror's great charms. Curate-in-charge of the remote parish of Llangeitho, which was served throughout the whole of the eighteenth century by members of his family, Daniel Rowland, as he himself tells us, was first moved to a full sense of the responsibilities of his holy office through the preaching of Griffith Jones. Together with Howel Harris, Rowland now wandered through Wales, and even beyond its borders, when he could spare the time from his own parish duties, preaching and educating; but in course of time his fame and popularity as an orator of exceptional ability became so widely spread that thousands of people from all parts of Wales began to flock to Llangeitho,

drawn thither by his marvellous powers and fascinating personality.

'Attractive as the preacher might be, his reading was equally impressive. It is a singular testimony to the inherent power of our glorious Liturgy that Rowland found its language the most effective instrument in touching the hearts and, we must add, in stirring the fanaticism of his hearers. It was not his overbearing eloquence, nor the passionate appeal to conscience, which no man ever made more forcibly, but the solemn sound of the Church of England's prayers, "By Thine Agony and Bloody Sweat, by Thy Cross and Passion, Good Lord, deliver us," which first awoke the slumbering poetry of that ancient people when he addressed and fired their imagination with the same fervour in religion which their forefathers had shown in battle. It was while these words were read at Llangeitho that tears and convulsive sobs, followed by cries of "*Gogoniant!*" ("Glory!") and "*Bendigedig!*" ("Blessed!"), first broke and ran through the multitude like a contagious fever. . . .

'A similar excitement attended the preaching of Wesley and Whitefield; but the latter, accustomed as he was to kindred scenes, was surprised by the emphatic form which the epidemic assumed in the Principality. Mr. Milman has happily remarked that the climate of Africa worked into the language and creed of its inhabitants: so in South Wales it seemed as if the old *afflatus* of the bards had passed from minstrelsy into religion.'¹

The obscure little village of Llangeitho, which is to-day regarded with special affection as the Mecca of Welsh Methodism, lying in a beautiful but sparsely populated and remote district of Mid-Cardiganshire, became, therefore, a rallying-point for the religious life with which all Wales was now throbbing, so that thousands from time to time made their way thither on horseback, on foot, even by boat across the treacherous waters of Cardigan Bay. How easily might not all this extraordinary religious enthusiasm, centred in an earnest ordained clergyman, have been utilized to the glory of the Mother Church of Wales! How useless to attempt to dam this current of deep national feeling, laudable in itself; and how impolitic, seeing that at present it was running in orthodox channels! Yet, amazing to relate, Dr. Squire, then bishop of St. Davids, was sufficiently ill-

¹ *Quarterly Review*: 'Methodism in Wales.'

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advised to attempt this task, giving as his chief reason for interference Rowland's not infrequent practice of preaching outside his own parish, often in unconsecrated buildings.

'The Bishop is said to have remonstrated frequently, but to no purpose. Like Wesley, Rowland appears to have regarded the whole world as his parish. Although Bishop Squire has been much blamed by posterity—and his action herein has been judged more by its consequences than *per se*—his action was perfectly justifiable in the interests of order and discipline in his diocese. In the erroneous estimation of some Welsh historians, this inhibition amounted, to use common phrase, to "turning Rowland out of the Church." There are no grounds whatever for such an inference. The inhibition did not apply to the parish of Llangeitho, of which Rowland was a licensed curate. It only applied to those parishes into which he intruded uninvited. Nor is there evidence to indicate that Rowland considered himself in any sense turned out of the Church. Nay, he claimed to be a member of the Church up to the day of his death, which happened October 16, 1790, at the age of seventy-seven years.'¹

The whole story of Bishop Squire's interference is very obscure, and the quotation given above is only a one-sided but well-intentioned version of the incident which seeks to excuse the Bishop's action; the other account, that usually accepted by the Welsh Dissenters of to-day, is that Dr. Squire, regarding Rowland's methods with alarm and his increasing fame with jealousy, definitely and deliberately 'turned him out of the Church.' Though the truth probably lies halfway between these two extreme theories, it may be assumed safely that the Bishop made a fatal mistake in thus opposing, instead of seeking to guide, Rowland; had but this English prelate in Wales

' Been to his virtues ever kind,
Been to his faults a little blind,'

the great preacher's services would doubtless have been preserved to the Establishment to the end of his life, and a fruitful cause of scandal and vituperation, even at the present day, would never have been called into existence.

Bishop Squire's final inhibition is believed to have been

¹ *Yr Haul*, August 1902.

issued about the year 1780, ten years before Rowland's death, and its immediate result was to drive the popular curate-in-charge of Llangeitho from his parish church to a conventicle hard by built for his use by his devoted followers — 'Rowlandists' as they were then termed. In this new chapel Rowland, now regarded with additional affection and respect as an undoubted martyr to episcopal tyranny, continued to preach and to administer the Sacraments to crowded congregations, whilst the neighbouring parish church remained empty save for the new incumbent, his clerk, and Daniel Rowland's own sister, who bitterly resented her brother's conduct: a curious state of affairs, of which Sir Samuel Meyrick, the learned historian of Cardiganshire, who visited Llangeitho not many years after Rowland's death, has left an interesting account.

Daniel Rowland, 'the Whitefield of Wales,' died in 1790 an ordained priest standing outside the pale of the Church, and honestly believing that he held this equivocal position through no fault of his own. To his great credit, however, never did Rowland speak bitterly against his Mother Church, far less open a malicious campaign against her or her system of government; whilst his deep-seated belief in her divine mission and his hopeful desire for her successful regeneration are amply testified by the colloquy (generally deemed authentic and never disproved) between the dying preacher and his son Nathaniel:

"I have been persecuted (said Mr. R.) until I got tired, and you will be persecuted still more, yet stand by the Church by all means. You will not, perhaps, be repaid for doing so, yet still stand by it—yea, even unto death. There will be a great revival in the Church of England; this is an encouragement to you to stand by it." The son said, "Are you a prophet, father?" To this he answered: "No, I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but God has made this known to me on my knees. I shall not live to see it." Then the son asked: "Shall I live to see it?" He then put his hands for a time over his eyes, and afterwards said, "Yes, you may live to see it."¹

¹ *Life of Daniel Rowland*, Appendix M. Quoted by the *Quarterly Review*, October 1849; also, in varying form, by *Yr Haul*, August 1902. The 'persecution' alluded to by Rowland in this exhortation to his son

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Passing by the lives and labours of William Williams of Pantycelyn, the poet of the Methodist movement, 'who, like Fra Angelico, never attempted to compose till he felt his soul near heaven,' and Peter Williams of Carmarthen, the editor of several editions of the Welsh Bible, both duly ordained clergymen, we come finally to Thomas Charles of Bala. This man, the last of the four great names associated with the rise and growth of Welsh Methodism, was born near Llanddowror in 1755, and in his boyhood was in the habit of attending the humble parish church made famous by Griffith Jones's memory. As a youth Charles was greatly attracted and influenced by the preaching of Daniel Rowland, so that he had already begun to attend the local Methodist meetings at Carmarthen before his matriculation at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1775. Ordained on Trinity Sunday, 1778, he was appointed to the curacy of Skipton, in Somersetshire, where the fervid but uncultivated style of the young Welshman's sermons and exhortations soon gave offence to an English congregation. Returning to his native land, Charles filled more than one curacy in North Wales, but finally found himself settled in the little town of Bala without money, without a charge of souls, and also without the prospect of any further employment in the Church. His position at Bala and its consequences are admirably summed up by the late Judge Johnes in the quotation given below :

'In North Wales the Methodist clergy were looked upon with great jealousy ; and in the year 1783 Charles became so unpopular with a portion of his parishioners that he chose to resign his curacy ; he found it impossible to gain any employment afterwards in the Church in North Wales. This involuntary idleness was a source of great anguish to a conscience like his, morbidly sensitive. Though an admirer, and in some respects a follower, of Rowland, he had scruples against preaching in the Methodist chapels ; at the same time he was distracted by the idea of remaining idle ; and this at

refers not to his treatment by Dr. Squire, but to the annoyance caused him by the action of certain Methodists, who wished him to be a party to the ordination of lay preachers (as had already been done by Wesley in England), and thus to complete the rupture with the Mother Church, a line of policy which Rowland stoutly opposed to the last.

length drove him to forsake the Church altogether and become a preacher in the Methodist connexion. . . . He soon infused new life into their cause by the well-regulated system of co-operation which he established among the preachers of the body. He was himself indefatigable, travelling during the most inclement seasons over wild and dreary mountains, and often preaching two or three times in the course of the day. In the midst of these toils he began to form circulating schools on the model of those of Griffith Jones. This he accomplished partly through the assistance of English friends, and partly by his stipend as a minister, which he devoted entirely to this purpose, relying for his own support on the industry of his wife; he taught most of the first masters of these schools himself.¹

But though Charles may be said to have severed his connexion with the Church as early as 1784, it must be borne in mind that he had not acted wilfully, but rather had drifted unwillingly into taking this step, the immediate causes of which were the refusal of a parochial cure within the Church itself and his own straitened means. Whatever sentiments of private wrong or neglect Charles may have harboured, no small sense of loyalty to his Mother Church is shown in his reluctance in 1811, as the head of what may be termed the Church party amongst the Methodists, to yield to the loudly expressed wishes of the majority to provide for a Donatist succession by laying unauthorised hands upon new teachers. Up to that date, it will be remembered, the Methodists proper, though living wholly in a religious atmosphere of their own, had kept within the pale of the Church, receiving the Communion from regularly ordained clergymen, and making use of the parish priests for the baptism of their infants. But in course of time the action of the bishops, who grew stricter in the cause of orthodoxy as the Methodist element waxed stronger, put the new body in a dilemma: either it must break definitely with the Church, which now forbade her priests to administer the Sacraments to Methodists, or else renounce every cherished conviction and practice in obedience to prelates who neither spoke Welsh nor understood the needs and desires of the Welsh people.

¹ Judge Johnes, *An Essay on the Church in the Principality of Wales.*

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Under these circumstances, such strong pressure was brought to bear upon Thomas Charles to consent to a rupture that finally he gave way and the Great Schism was completed. There is reason to believe that Charles soon had cause to repent this decisive step—if, indeed, he did not in the first instance regret giving it his sanction—and that his death at the premature age of fifty-eight, which took place three years after the event, was as much due to the doubts and anxieties of his mind concerning the Great Schism as to the effects of fatigue and exposure in a life devoted to preaching, educating and organizing amongst the bleak hills and under the inclement skies of North Wales.

‘There was one subject which had for years been mooted by some members of the connexion, and which had occasionally been pressed on the attention of Mr. Charles. The Methodists had hitherto been considered a part of the Established Church. None but episcopally ordained ministers administered the Lord’s Supper among them; and their children were baptized by the minister of the parish in which they lived. But not a few among them were desirous of introducing a different order of things—that is, of having some of the most approved of the lay preachers ordained after the manner of the Dissenters, or of the English Methodists. Mr. Charles and, we believe, all the clergy connected with them resisted this proposal for a long time very strongly, and, had it not been for some unhappy circumstances, would probably have wholly prevented its final adoption. The most powerful plea which the advocates of this opinion had to urge was the inadequacy of the small number of clergy among them to supply the demands of the connexion. The policy pursued by the bishops tended to increase this difficulty. There were many pious clergy, besides those in actual connexion with the Methodists, who occasionally laboured among them and assisted them. And those clergy were on the increase. But the bishops became stricter and insisted on uniform regularity. This gave great advantage to those who were for introducing a new order of things, and threw Mr. Charles and many others into great embarrassments.’¹

These words of the Vicar of Syston, a contemporary, who was familiar with all phases of the history of the Great Schism, give a straightforward and unprejudiced account of

¹ Rev. E. Morgan, *Life of Thomas Charles of Bala*.

the position of the Methodists at this critical period ; and the opinion of this valuable witness, that ordinary tact and forbearance on the part of the spiritual rulers of Wales might have prevented this secession, from the evil effects of which the Welsh Church is still suffering visibly, will doubtless be shared by all impartial people. But the condition of the Welsh Church at the beginning of the nineteenth century was deplorable : every ecclesiastical abuse reigned supreme. Nor could reasonable treatment be expected from bishops of the type of Watson of Llandaff, who only visited his diocese, the most populous of the four Welsh sees, on a few occasions during an episcopate of over thirty years. What sympathy or guidance could be looked for from such prelates towards 'brain-sick Methodists,' of whose desires, ideals, natural characteristics, language even, their spiritual fathers were totally ignorant and unheeding ?

From the account just given of the lives of these four men it will not be difficult to gauge the attitude of the bishops and leaders of the Established Church towards the Methodist movement, or to estimate their share in bringing about the final catastrophe of 1811. We have already seen that attitude vary in the course of the period described from one of cold approval and modified support in the case of Griffith Jones, to one of uncompromising hostility in the closing years of the eighteenth and first decade of the nineteenth centuries. These gradual changes in Welsh ecclesiastical policy are easily explained. In the earlier half of the eighteenth century some traditions of the old Elizabethan policy towards the Church in Wales still lingered ; there were a few at least of the higher clergy who were Welshmen both in language and sympathy. Laymen of importance, such as Sir John Philipps and Mrs. Bevan, threw themselves into the new religious movement with ardour, and their assistance to a certain extent counterbalanced the apathy of the bishops. In addition to other reasons there was, moreover, the character of Griffith Jones himself, whose singular modesty made a quarrel with so saintly a man well-nigh impossible. But by the time of George III.'s accession to the throne the native element in the ruling body of the

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Welsh Church had entirely disappeared; the system of non-residence and pluralities had increased on all sides; the views held by the bishops had been gradually instilled into the minds of the Welsh gentry, who under this new English influence began to lose touch with the trend of national feeling and aspirations; while the burden of the religious revival working within the Church fell upon the shoulders of new men, who, though perhaps Griffith Jones's equals in capacity, and even in piety, were often lacking in discipline. Under the Rector of Llanddowror's guidance the circulating schools had been set up quietly and peaceably throughout the whole country, the consent of the incumbent (rarely withheld) being made a necessity for the introduction of the scheme into any parish. But the behaviour of the new apostles of the revival, such as Harris, Rowland, Peter Williams, Thomas Charles, and others, was too often productive of disturbances and even of serious rioting. Upon such scenes of wild enthusiasm, organized in the name of religion by their clergy, the dignified English scholars and theologians who filled the Welsh sees looked with alarm and unconcealed disgust; while the whole system of itinerant preaching, so fascinating to the lower classes of Wales, and so capable of good results if properly directed, was equally dreaded and disliked.

In criticising these Georgian bishops for their failure to understand and to guide this genuine national outburst of religious zeal, it must be remembered that they were completely out of touch with the life and needs of the people of Wales. As English divines, merely regarding the Welsh sees as stepping-stones in the episcopal career, they naturally failed to recognize the emotional character of the Celt, and were prepared to treat the dioceses west of Severn as though English in feeling and population. Nor had they any trusted Welsh clergy of light or leading fit to give advice, every post of wealth or importance being now held by Englishmen, usually absentees, and in any case ignorant or careless of the spiritual requirements of Wales. Moreover, the inability of the bishops to speak the language of the country, though a matter of the highest concern, was

comparatively unimportant in the light of this total lack of knowledge and sympathy, the continued use of the Welsh language in the churches being due rather to the indifference of the higher clergy.

Though it is still erroneously, and often spitefully, declared that the use of the Welsh tongue was superseded by the English at this period, this is not the case, the usual services throughout Wales being performed in the mother tongue, though to small and ever-decreasing congregations; indeed, an occasional service in English in a Welsh country church is a comparatively modern innovation that has sprung into being within the last fifty years, and is itself a sign of the new life in the Church. To sum up: of the two charges of wilful persecution and of attempting to stamp out the Welsh language, implicitly made to-day by many Dissenters in Wales, the former is simply ridiculous, and the latter in the light of historical evidence is untenable, though one or two isolated instances are known. The real causes of the Great Schism were ignorance of the vernacular, all too frequent neglect of duty, and universal want of tact in dealing with the Welsh character. This last, which in all probability was the most powerful of all three causes, amounted almost to moral blindness. One instance alone may be given here. Peter Williams, the gifted commentator, and editor of several editions of the Welsh Bible, on one occasion travelled a great distance, probably on foot, to consult with his bishop on some matter which to the Welshman's excitable mind appeared of the first importance. The uncouth scholar and his long story were alike distasteful to the spiritual peer, who, coldly dismissing his visitor, allowed him to depart from Abergwyly Palace 'without the offer of meat or drink' after his long and fruitless journey, an unpardonable insult in hospitable Wales.¹ Can we conceive of a modern Welsh bishop acting thus in dealing with an earnest if somewhat erratic brother-priest? Yet this single little incident gives us the clue to the ultimate rupture between the dominating English element in the Welsh Church and the Methodists.

To this hopeless want of tact and insight on the part of

¹ It ought to be mentioned that there is another version of this story.

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the bishops we must, of course, add the terrible internal condition of the Church itself. We know how unsatisfactory was the state of the Church of England during the eighteenth century, and we may with certainty assume that, owing to local causes of language, temperament, and national feeling already described, the condition of her Welsh sister was infinitely worse. As to the scandals then prevalent in Wales, one instance, taken from many authentic examples quoted by Judge Johnes in his brilliant if bitter essay on Church misgovernment in Wales, must suffice. An English-speaking cleric held the deanery, the chancellorship, and nine livings in the diocese of St. Asaph, his curates-in-charge being paid for their services out of Queen Anne's Bounty. In fact, every cure of value throughout Wales being held so late as the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign by Englishmen, ignorant of Welsh and almost invariably absentees, the greatest reward in his Mother Church that a hard-working pious Welsh clergyman of the type of Griffith Jones or Thomas Charles could ever expect to obtain was the charge under a non-resident rector or vicar of one, two, three, or even four parishes at a starvation wage. Can we, then, be surprised to learn that only a singularly low, unread, down-trodden type of Welsh priest could be eventually found to enter and to continue in his National Church with such a prospect before him? Can we deny in the face of these facts that the secession of the Methodists under Charles of Bala carried with it a certain dignity of protest against the universal corruption in the Mother Church, truly beloved to the last by these unwilling founders of modern Welsh Dissent?

Though gladly turning from this distant story of misunderstanding, misgovernment and secession, we must ever bear in mind that the history of this time is still living, and that its evil traditions still to a great extent account for the bitterness, often savage in its intensity, of the descendants of those who were driven to abandon their National Church some ninety years ago. To those who are anxious to understand the true position of the Church in Wales to-day we insist that the historical origin and growth of Welsh Methodism must be carefully studied beforehand. The con-

nexion between the Great Schism of 1811 and the present time remains almost unbroken ; for, in spite of the numerous reforms, all excellent in their way, that took place within the Church during the last century, it was not until 1870—when Queen Victoria's reign was more than half completed—that the real keynote of regeneration was struck. This date is remarkable for the first Welsh appointment to a Welsh see, in the person of the late Dr. Hughes of St. Asaph, an appointment which heralded a new era in the history of the Church. How deeply needed was this belated return to the old ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth, of supplying the Principality with able Welsh-speaking, Welsh-bred and Welsh-sympathizing bishops, may be judged from the following quotation, penned by the late Dean Edwards of Bangor as recently as 1888 :

'Of the twenty-eight leading dignitaries in the four Welsh dioceses [by which, presumably, are meant the four bishops, four deans, and the canons and archdeacons of Wales], there are thirteen who cannot be said to have any command of the Welsh language. Of the thirteen, ten are absolutely ignorant of it, and three, being only able to read or recite it with very great difficulty and a most imperfect accent, are quite unable to converse in it. Out of the remaining fifteen, not more than four have any power as Welsh preachers, and not more than three have ever attempted to contribute to the religious or secular literature of Wales. The result of this state of things is that forces which have been described as most potent in influencing the Welsh people of to-day are not wielded by the Church.'

From this final extract it will readily be perceived how deeply this lamentable Georgian system had become rooted in Wales, and how necessary it is that only Welshmen of real eloquence and ability, such as are likely to appeal to and influence the native mind, should be nominated henceforth to the sees of the Principality. Fortunately, from the year 1870—that happy date in the annals of the Welsh Church—the appointments to posts of dignity and leading have been uniformly satisfactory, and have undoubtedly helped to recover some of the ground lost by neglect and a mistaken policy in the past.

ART. V.—A PURITAN UTOPIA.

1. *Nova Solyma. The Ideal City, or Jerusalem Regained.* An anonymous Romance written in the time of Charles I., now first drawn from obscurity and attributed to the illustrious John Milton. With Introduction, Translation, Literary Essays, and a Bibliography. By the Rev. WALTER BEGLEY. (London: John Murray, 1903.)
2. *Novae Solymae Libri Sex.* (Londini: Typis Joannis Legati, 1648.)

MR. BEGLEY has nobody but himself to blame if opinion so far has been in the main unfavourable to his contention. If ever an editor went out of his way to irritate his readers, the writer of the title page as quoted has done so. Even this is incorrect. *Nova Solyma* is not published 'with translation.' Except for a small number of extracts there is nothing else. Whatever the merits of Mr. Begley as a conscientious translator, his style is not such as to suggest 'the sublime Milton.' Before leaving the title-page we will notice one other point in which it is misleading. Not only is the work given only in a version, but the version is not complete. Of the fact that certain original translations of the Psalms are not retranslated, or that merely an analysis of the lecture on Cosmology is given, we do not complain. But there are actual omissions of which the reader is not informed at all. These omissions in themselves are not important. Not even Milton could make Puritan theology or a large part of it interesting to this generation, as the last part of *Paradise Lost* proves, and the passages omitted are Puritan theology at its dullest. But we do complain that in a work designed for the public (to whom a host of arguments are addressed in the notes), who cannot be expected to be at the pains, even if they had the inclination or the opportunity, to consult the original, these 'cuts' should be made without the smallest hint to the reader.

We pass now to the translation, as such. Here, again, Mr. Begley sets his readers against him. His notion of style

is slipshod in the extreme, and instead of a 'liberal translation' he does what Matthew Arnold attributed to an unfortunate translator of Homer. 'It presents the thought in a way which is something more than unconstrained—over familiar; something more than easy—free and easy.'¹

We give a few illustrations. In translating a simple phrase declaring that after the guests had had enough they proceeded &c., Mr. Begley must needs convert it into 'after a satisfying meal'²—which has just the touch of vulgarity absent from the original. 'Ob modestiam et ingenuitatem' is rendered 'Others noticed *his unaffected manners so genuine and free from swagger*.'

Such evidences of Mr. Begley's notion of literary manner will assure the reader that his impression, if there be one, in favour of Miltonic authorship, is not likely to have been deepened by the idiosyncrasies of the editor. At the same time it is to be observed that, if Mr. Begley's style as a translator is defective, he rarely is incorrect in rendering the matter, and that there are no substantial inaccuracies. His notion of the duties of a 'liberal translator' will be seen by his version of the following lines:

O Sacrum Solymae jugum !
 Urbs o nobilium regia civium,
 Te faelix pietas et bona caelitum
 Cantu gaudia recreant perenni.
 Sanctorum pater optimus
 Praesenti facie lucidus incolit,
 Et proles miseris addita gentibus
 Exornat gemino nitore templum.
 O caeli jubar aureum !
 Mortales superas corpore regio
 Et divos volucres numine patrio :
 Nil aequum tibi surgit aut secundum.
 Vultus profer amabiles :
 Et te da proprio lumine conspici :
 Ut surgens roseo sydere Phosphorus,
 Aut flammae vigor aureus diurnae.

¹ Matthew Arnold, *On Translating Homer*, p. 42.

² *Nova Solyma*, i. 102.

Tu nostri generis memor,
Et terras oculis desuper intuens,
Fraternis humilem tollis amoribus,
Et dulci rapis impetu furentem.

Ergo nos patria domo
Vivemus superum secla potentium.
Prae portis potius janitor excubem,
Quam regnare velim beatus exul.

O sacred top of Solyma,
How lovely is the place
Where stands the city of our king,
Where faithful saints rejoice and sing
Of mercy, love, and grace !

For there our greater Temple stands
With greater glory blest,
And there redeemed from alien lands
Brought back at last by God's own hands
His Israel finds her rest.

Here too dost Thou, our Light and Life,
Illumine each dark heart ;
The veil is gone from Israel's face,
The true Light shines on Israel's race,
Lord grant Thine ancient people grace
To see Thee as Thou art !

Thou art Thy people's glory now,
And equal hast Thou none ;
Be thou our Dayspring and our Peace,
Be Thou our Light till life doth cease,
Till our last course be run.

Oh ! let us know Thee as Thou art,
Our King and Blessed One,
Thou art the Holiest in the height ;
The winged angels in God's sight
Are servants—Thou His Son.

From Heaven above Thine eyes behold
 Each well-remembered saint ;
 The meek may now Thy mercies prove,
 And find in Thee a Brother's love,
 And ardent rise to joys above,
 Rapt by Thy sweet constraint.

In Thy great Temple, O my God,
 How much I'd rather be
 A doorkeeper to stand and wait,
 Or lie and watch before Thy gate
 Till I Thy glory see,
 Than exiled reign in royal state
 For every pleasure free.

An exile long, to me at last
 It is by God's grace given
 To clasp my kindred by the hand,
 Again on Zion's hill to stand,
 And praise God in my Fatherland,
 O antepast of Heaven !

(i. 175-6).

This rendering has merits, but as compared with the Latin the English is surely a little 'expansive.' The passage is worth quoting on another ground. For it expresses the central notion of the book—the polity of Israel rescued from exile and redeemed to Christianity. It is a fair specimen of the writer's dexterity in versification. We now quote another passage, in which, to our thinking, the translator is far better seen. It is an Anacreontic derided by the writer in a style certainly not unlike Milton.

'Once, indeed, when Eugenius was pacing to and fro alone in the garden, he was heard to utter to the winds the following strain, from which I think any sensible person can judge of the vain follies of love :

O sistitote furem !
 O sistitote quaeso !
 Cor abstulit misellum,
 Et nunc abire coepit,
 Virique faeminaeque,
 O sistitote quaeso !
 O sistitote furem !

Est alba vestis illi,
 Et taeniae rubentes :
 Auro que zona fulgens
 Sed frons nitore puro
 Vestemque liliumque
 Nivemque vincit ipsam :
 Est luminumque fulgor

Par syderi gemello :
 Est aureusque crinis
 Par Cynthii capillis ;
 Pedes sed heu venustos
 Natura non adaequat,
 Quin alteri necesse est
 Ut conferatur alter.
 Vos o cavete vobis,
 Virique faeminaeque,

Nec blandulos notate
 Ocellulos ocellis ;
 Eburneamque frontem,
 Et aureos capillos,
 Pedesque pervenustos :
 Ne tam decora virgo
 Unicuique vestrum
 Cor auferat misellum,
 Et sic abire pergat.¹

Oh ! stop her, stop the thief, I pray,
 For she has stolen my heart away.
 Ah ! see ! she flees—she will not stay ;
 Oh, stop her, men and maidens, pray !
 She has ribbons red and robe of white,
 And golden girdle gleaming bright ;
 You cannot miss her, for her brow
 Is whiter than the driven snow ;
 No milk-white robe or lily fair
 Can with that beauteous brow compare,
 Nor can the flash of her twin eyes
 Be equalled save in yonder skies ;
 Her hair is radiant, golden brown,
 Such as Apollo's self might own ;
 She tripped away on lightsome feet,
 In Nature's realm no pair so neat ;
 And never can their match be found
 But in themselves the world around.
 O ! men and maidens, all beware,
 Lest when you see this maiden fair,
 That brow with ivory that vies,
 Those golden locks, those lovelit eyes,
 Should seize you with a strange surprise,
 Should cast upon you such a spell
 That you should lose—ah ! sad to tell—
 Your own poor hearts—and her as well.

But Mr. Begley shines most as a translator in blank verse. The rendering of the Armada Epic is really fine and does ample justice to an original which, if not Miltonic, is assuredly noble.

It may perhaps be surmised that a translator with such

¹ *Nova Solyma*, 269.

extremely loose notions of accuracy is not likely to exhibit the soundest of judgments on a literary problem. This is certainly the case. Mr. Begley seems to have no power to distinguish between a good argument and a bad. His method is apparently to heap together as many reasons as his imagination suggests to him, regardless of the question of serious cogency. He presents his case in the most irritating manner. He repeats himself without the smallest hesitation. His notion of humour would disgrace a schoolboy. There is no literary finish or delicacy about his style. He is ridiculously egotistical, and at times incurably vulgar. He seems often to think that strong assertion frequently reiterated will produce conviction. In a word, one is set against his contention before one has perused ten pages of the introduction.

The first sentence speaks of 'this new Romance by Milton.' We can see no reason for the capital. The romance is not, strictly speaking, new. The last two words assume the whole contention to be proved. On page 3 we come across a passage in the classical style of allusion, confined, we had hoped, to the sporting papers. 'They have become rather dusty and old-fashioned through the neglect of ages; *perhaps somewhat moth-eaten by Tempus Edax, who will allow nothing to be fresh unless it is "up to date."*' The italicised passage is sufficiently strange from one who comes before the world as a serious investigator, announcing as a competent critic an important literary discovery. We give one or two specimens of Mr. Begley's style in its full-blown splendour.

'It is well known that our great poet in the matter of the master-passion could boast of exceptional self-control, and *that from youth to manhood the enticements of Venus failed to lead him astray*; in other words, he sowed no wild oats in Cambridge or London or even later on in the more fertile and luxuriant fields of dangerous Italy. . . . But Cupid's darts smote him twice in his youth' (p. 27).

'This, if I may be permitted to say it, I consider another high trump card to help me to win my game' (p. 29).

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On p. 253 in a note *à propos* of the magic of oratory mentioned in the text, we find the following illuminating remark :

'We all know Gambetta's almost magic influence. But take an instance of to-day. On October 10, 1901, Dr. Clifford (of the Baptist Union) spoke with vigour and eloquence at Edinburgh against Anglican sacerdotalism. We are told by the *Daily Chronicle*, October 11, that "he stirred the great audience like the blast of a trumpet."

On p. 30 of vol. ii. his desire to be 'up to date' leads to the introduction of 'syndicates,' where the original has no hint of such a thing. On p. 104 we have a note speaking of 'Varsity Men' and rising into the novel apostrophe 'Well rowed, Cambridge!'

Having achieved these depths, Mr. Begley need not be followed further—he certainly possesses 'the art of sinking' beyond most of those who were accused of it in the past, and cannot expect us to pay any regard to his sense of literary fitness and likelihood. For many of his arguments are on a par with his witticisms and are hard to consider seriously. Some of his so-called reasons do not, even if valid, raise any presumption in favour of Milton's authorship. They merely show that, if on other grounds the Miltonic authorship be considered probable, there is nothing in the passage or treatment in question to rebut the presumption. Many are merely based on a comparison with some other romance, such as Barclay's *Argenis*, Bacon's *New Atlantis*, or Montemayor's *Diana*. It is probable that Milton was acquainted with Columella; the passage in question shows some slight resemblance to that author; therefore Milton must have written it.

Nevertheless, we believe Mr. Begley to be right. It is impossible, indeed, in a review of the whole subject, to speak with any positive certainty. And we are far from desiring to imitate the confidence of the editor. There is, in the first place, no external evidence—so far as can be known. Some day, it is possible, there may be discovered some contemporary document or letter bearing on the subject. But it must be admitted that it is strange, on the theory of the

Miltonic authorship, that it should be impossible to find even a trace of direct evidence on the subject. It is, perhaps, stranger on this hypothesis that the author, by the time it appeared a highly distinguished man, should have been able so entirely to conceal his identity that not only of Miltonic authorship, but of the book's existence, no word should be said. If Hartlib were, as Mr. Begley thinks, 'the only begetter' of *Nova Solyma*, he was surely not bound to conceal the existence of a book which in many ways must have delighted him, as well as the identity of its author. But all this is not conclusive. And we proceed to mention some points in which the argument for the Miltonic authorship appears to us to be something more than plausible. That we have no desire to overstate it, the previous pages afford sufficient evidence.

We need not stop to prove that the author was an Englishman; he was also a Puritan of a cultivated type, and an accomplished Latin scholar.

The *ἦθος* is certainly that of the broader Puritanism. There is no mention of any ecclesiastical system, no Church, no religious service, except family prayers. The theory of Sunday is decidedly anti-Laudian. There are one or two allusions which show the writer's desire to protest against 'mediæval superstitions,' in regard to image-worship. The tone of the 'Armada Epic' is strongly Protestant, and the account of theology given by Jacob is strictly on Puritan lines. He debates the 'scheme of redemption' in the approved method. The story of the torments and death of Alcimus, and, above all, the religious melancholy and succeeding ecstasy of Joseph are conceived in the regular Puritan mode. The entire absence of ceremonial religion, the consideration of the problem of evil and the origin of sin in free-will, the individualism expressed or implied, the allusions to fanatical excesses, the silence on all questions of Church order and organization, all point to a writer who was as little in sympathy with prelacy as he was with the narrower forms of Puritanism. That against these he desired to protest seems clear from his argument on the Sabbatarian question, and also from his apology for the introduction of classical deities into his poems.

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The introduction of pageants and allusions to music with the final 'Oratorio,' are further evidence of a spirit quite different from that associated with the harder type of Puritanism. The ideal of education, the main gist of the book, is, again, of the same truly liberal order.

That the English Puritan was also an accomplished Latinist is clear. The ease of the prose style, and the amazing dexterity in versification which he displays, are obvious to the most superficial reader. The variety of metres in which he writes is amazing. Nor does the author's mastery over the most intricate forms ever fail him; indeed no less ingenuity is displayed in the invention of new forms than in the employment of them. We give one or two further specimens; but for anything like a judgment it is needful to consult the original. The first, in Glyconics, is 'The Inscription hanging from the Right Hand of the Colossus guarding the River of Death' in the story of the kingdom of Philomela.

'Faelicissimus omnium
Rectam qui tenero puer
Ingressus pede semitam,
Cursu perpetuo premit
Metam mortis ad ultimam.
Faelix, qui refugo gradu,
Orci praecipitem viam
Pertæsus, superos petit.
Quisquis tramite devio
Captus se redimi cupit,
Me non horreat iudicem,
Vultu terribilem truci,
Sed pronus facilem pia
Exoret prece transitum;
Cassis lumine praescio
Hoc solum superest iter.'

From the 'Bridal Song' at the close we give some elegiacs. The maidens and shepherds invite the Bride to leave her Divine Husband and return home.

'Mollis olor niveis et sponsa simillima pennis,
Qui super innocuae stagna sedetis aquae,

Vos simul aequales thalamo deducitis annos ;
 Et sacer in teneris mentibus ardet amor.
 Ah nostrae, quoties huc venerit illa, sorori
 Dicite vos superum vivere regna pares.'

The Bride replies :

'Virinei coetus aequaeaque turba puellae,
 Vosque leves citharae, vosque valetе chori ;
 Non ego me posthac comitem venatibus addam,
 Aut timidis tendam retia rara feris.
 O stultae ! me immensus amor torretque tenetque,
 Oblectans animam nocte dieque meam.'

Lastly we quote the trochaics of the final serenade under the Bride's window :

'O beata surge, tandem linque lectum conjugis,
 Aucta donis, et decoris enovata gratiis ;
 Ecce nymphas, ecce cunctas antecellis virgines ;
 Bracteam nitore vincit vestis hic argenteam ;
 Haec catena gemmularum fulget instar syderum ;
 Ne reconde tot decores, totque dotes aureas,
 I revise tecta matris et sorores pristinas ;
 Ecce vinea racemos in paterna colligunt.
 Ipsa carpe vitis uvas vinolentae lividas,
 Has et illas et petitas ore laeto devora.
 Nunc eamus et legamus capita florum mollia,
 Nexa sertis et corollis induamus tempora.
 Nunc eamus et legamus conchulas sub rupibus,
 Colla pulchris vinciamus, et manus monilibus,
 Nunc eamus et premamus fessulae cubilia ;
 Et sopore blanda sero somniemus somnia.'

It is impossible to speak decisively on a question of style, especially a style so exotic as the composition of original verse in a foreign language. But we do not think that a comparison of the style, alike in prose and verse, of *Nova Solyma* is likely to lead to a rejection of the Miltonic hypothesis if on other grounds this should be the most probable solution, and we can quote in favour of our opinion a classical scholar whom we consulted. The use of certain newly-coined words, the employment of 'Belgia' for Belgium (found elsewhere in Milton, and neither correct nor common),

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the contempt displayed for 'grammaticasters' in the lapses from orthodox prosody: all these considerations, coupled with the distinct condemnation of anagrams and mere verbal gymnastics, if they do not actually lead to the conjecture that the accomplished Puritan Englishman was John Milton, assuredly tend to confirm the view.

As a matter of fact the romance, as a whole, affords the strongest evidence of its Miltonic authorship; and while it is easy to rebut some considerations and to ignore others, the perusal of the work from end to end, more especially in the original, tends to create an impression of which it is difficult to resist the force. If it is hard to judge by the external style, so at least as to convince others, it is certainly no easier to derive an argument from the tone and temper of the work, or at any rate to set it in such a light as to be effectively convincing. But the ideals of *Nova Solyma*, its dignity and 'high seriousness,' its freedom from certain characteristics which might have been expected in such a work, even the dulness, indubitable and overpowering, of certain portions of it, its persistently didactic tone, with the very strong stress laid on filial duty and the marked incapacity for either irony or wit, the individualistic tone, seem to the writer of this article to point strongly, if not conclusively, to Milton as the author. This impression has been heightened, not diminished, by a simultaneous perusal, with a view of comparison, of much of Milton's writing, both in prose and verse, in Latin and in English; though it must be admitted that the Latin is not the most convincing part of the comparison, for the style of the *Defensio Secunda* has a rather less natural flavour than that of *Nova Solyma*. When to this are added certain passages in the prose writings of which *Nova Solyma* gives at least a plausible interpretation, and certain parallels between the imagery of the poems and *Paradise Lost*, the suspicion becomes very strong indeed.

The ideal of Education is little more than an amplification of the sketch outlined in the famous *Tractate*. Its most remarkable characteristic, the unification of school and university, is found in both. There is the same stress laid on physical and military training, the same hostility to purely

verbal discussion, the same regard to the importance of the political sciences.

We strongly object, by the way, to Mr. Begley's identification of the scheme with that feeding of the middle classes with culture and water which goes by the name of University Extension. There is not the smallest ground for this identification. It is the occurrence of such catchpenny comparisons at frequent intervals that would drive the reader to disagree with Mr. Begley if the reasons to the contrary were not too cogent. *Nova Solyma* contemplates, not the purveying of peripatetic lectures to audiences of *dilettanti* females, but a regular system of control and inspection of the provincial schools by the heads of the metropolitan. The headmaster is in fact headmaster of a great public school, vice-chancellor of a university, and secretary of the Board of Education rolled into one. In both the *Tractate* and *Nova Solyma* we have the same plan of a great school and college. Stress is laid on the discovery of a boy's natural bent, both in the common-place book and in *Nova Solyma*. Compare, again, the two following passages from *Nova Solyma* and the *Tractate* respectively :

'They educate us as if we were all to become in the future philosophers or hermits, as if we had nothing in common with the interests of the family or the State, when, as a matter of fact, we are joined thereto by the closest of ties' (ii. 243).

'I call, therefore, a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.'

Or these on political science :

'The next remove must be the study of Politics ; to know the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies ; that they may not in a dangerous fit of the Commonwealth be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately been, but steadfast pillars of the State' (*Tractate*).

'Those students who had taken their degree in Arts were removed for a further three years' course in Philosophy and Civil Prudence, so as to be qualified to sustain their rank and position in the noblest way' (*Nova Solyma*).

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In regard to military exercise the two writers (if they be two), are marvellously in accord, both with one another and with the modern public school system, which in many respects, in so far as it lays stress on the training of the body and the will, is quite curiously akin to the Eton of the New Jerusalem.

The visitors observed 'all kinds of military weapons as well as peaceful requisites for boys' games.' This made them ask whether Mars too was added to the Muses.

'Well,' said the tutor, 'we think Mars or military science should not be separated from Pallas or wise Civil Prudence. By military drill and other bodily exercise we prevent work being dull . . . Our object is to make them feel ready in all the exigencies of a campaign. One could scarcely believe how these mimic contests endue them with real courage, and drive away any war fright.'

The ideal is more elaborately exemplified in the following passage :

'The boys went through all kinds of exercises and games—running, leaping, games of ball and the quoit, swimming in the baths, riding, drill, and evolutions in heavy marching order as well as light skirmishing exercise. Just then they were at their studies, and when these were over they were not only freely encouraged to do gymnasium work, but even obliged to go through it as a task, if any try to shirk.'

The writer contemplates that very modern phenomenon—the games-master :

'Masters were present at these athletic contests, some to give hints or a little coaching, others to watch their behaviour and check anything improper ; for nowhere is a boy's natural disposition more clearly discovered than when in excited play. They warn the lads against any trickery or mean cunning in their sports, as being a low and despicable thing for a boy to attempt. They impress upon them also that they should not be grasping after the money value of their athletic prizes, but consider it more as a spur to their exertions, and a token of victory, reminding them of that law of Nature—that a man is to live by toil and merit and mutual help, and not by games and play.'

If this latter maxim were successfully indicated nowadays we should perhaps hear less of our educational deficiencies.

The author's ideal is in fact just that of the knightly life which the late warden of Glenalmond in his charming work *Pastor Agnorum* declares to be the true *differentia* of the public school. Exactly the same is the view of the *Tractate*. Of course this is not decisive, for in this respect *Oceana* is something similar; but there is no probability that *Oceana* and *Nova Solyma* can be by the same person. Both, however, share with the *Tractate* a somewhat aristocratic view of education. It is the liberal education of the upper classes about which both the *Tractate* and *Nova Solyma* are mainly concerned. The provision of scholarships for deserving boys of the lower classes is hardly rightly described by Mr. Begley as 'Kidd's principle of equal opportunities,' although its insertion is interesting. The tone in which the lower class of schools is spoken of betrays the man of classical culture and serves to mark the difference between the ideals of Puritanism and Sir Thomas More. We quote from the translation:

'There are classical schools as well, and public workshops where the children of the poorer classes are taught the meaner occupations, or, if they show ability, are instructed in the mechanical arts and crafts. Others follow the trades by which they earn their livelihood in a private more independent manner. The education of all these goes no further than reading, writing, arithmetic with geometry, and other such studies as are a help to the mechanical arts, for the higher culture is considered out of place in their station of life, and even prejudicial, from its tendency to make the working-classes dissatisfied with their humble duties, if once they have tasted the dignified "sweetness and light" of the intellectual life. But as regards morality, military drill, and religious exercises, these are inculcated on all without exception.'

The following passage is in full accord with the anti-clericalism which was or became so strong a feature of Milton's character; although it is at least as much in harmony with the ideas of Samuel Hartlib in *Makaria*:

'Our religious training is mainly directed to the feelings of a spiritual character. We do not weary our boys with deep disputations; we do not confuse them with mysteries, nor do we hinder them by casuistic scruples and discouragements.'

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'Those who intend to take up theology as a profession receive no stricter religious education than their fellow-pupils, although they have to attend special divinity classes in their course. But the power and essence of religion, as far as it is conducive to a good and happy life, are hardly anywhere so generally insisted upon with every student as with us, for we hold religion to be the foundation and cornerstone of society, and the great connecting link that holds it together in all its different sections.'

'We do not simply give divinity lectures and expositions, but at every opportunity we advise, exhort, and admonish, by personal and friendly intercourse, so as to reach the heart.'

'We believe that not even spiritual pastors and preachers have so good an opportunity of using that continuous and varied personal influence which is the peculiar privilege of parents and tutors.'

We quote this partly for its curiously modern tone, partly as illustrating the *Anschaung* of the writer. This is illustrated again in the lecture of Apollos:

'As to the oracles of God which we call the Bible. Let us not be ever trying to soar to their heights, or probe into their depths; they are both beyond our ken. Let us rather dwell upon the obvious and well-worn truths it contains, for that will do us more real good' (ii. 201).

The notion of the earlier part of this passage should be compared with the famous place in *Paradise Lost* anent the philosophizing of the fiends:

'Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,
In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
Of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.
Of good and evil much they argued then,
Of happiness and final misery,
Passion and apathy, and glory and shame;
Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy.'

(ii. 557-565.)

Mr. Begley does well also to compare it with:

'Till warn'd, or by experience taught, she learn,
That not to know at large of things remote
From use, obscure and subtle, but to know

That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime wisdom ; what is more, is fume,
Or emptiness, or vain impertinence,
And renders us in things that most concern
Unpractis'd, unprepar'd and still to seek ' (viii. 190-197).

We may compare it also with the definite undenominationalism of *Makaria* :

'Are they Protestants or Papists?'

'Their religion consists not in taking notice of several opinions and sects, but is made up of infallible tenets, which may be proved by invincible arguments, and such as will abide the grand test of extreme dispute ; by which means none have power to stir up schisms and heresies, neither are any of their opinions ridiculous to those of contrary minds.'

This naive belief in uniformity by reaching the *caput mortuum* of all religions is not at all the same as Milton's view, but it is interesting as evidence that a view so closely allied to the favourite shibboleth of present day political Dissent is to be paralleled in the seventeenth century.

The scholar then passes on to approve 'the foreign way of pronouncing words, so avoiding both ridicule and loss of dignity in our converse, and in order to obtain this excellence many reside abroad for a time.' This is in accordance both with Milton's own life and the principles of the *Tractate*. He then proceeds to a condemnation of pedantry, the craze for emendations, the habit of composing anagrams and centos : all of which Milton is known to have held in contempt, and thereby to have afforded matter for animadversion to his great opponent, Salmasius. The discussion of poetry which follows, alike in its emphasis on the need of verse on sacred themes and in its general treatment, is certainly in agreement with *Paradise Lost*, but can hardly be taken as clear evidence of the Miltonic authorship. But of the Armada Epic the same cannot be said. Next to the Educational system of the book, it is, in our opinion, the strongest weapon in Mr. Begley's armoury. Of many minor resemblances we cannot give instances, but we may point out that in paralleling metaphors and similes from *Paradise Lost* the editor is at his

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best, and some of the parallels are certainly remarkable. We can only mention two.

'Tum calice aurato praeferat crudele venenum
Permistum furiis atque ambitione tumentis;
Nectareum falso dicunt agnomine potum.'

This potion given to Philip at night excites him to the invasion of England. We quote the author's own comment:

'In like manner the nourishing nectar of the gods which is the potion sent to overcome Philip, is described as consisting of pride and cruelty, for bad angels are nourished on sin as good angels are on holiness, and Satan often instils sinful desires under the form of an angel of light.'

'So the gist of these verses I have just read is that these lost spirits, enemies of mankind, are sworn foes to the people of God, and incite tyrants to injure them, and often do so under the guise of affected piety, with the result that these tyrants think they are pleasing God, whilst they are really persecuting to the uttermost His most true and faithful servants. And, in addition, when a king's mind is poisoned it generally follows that he can induce many of his subjects to rush headlong with him on his mad career.'

Mr. Begley rightly uses this explanation to rebut Bentley's emendation of *Paradise Lost*, vi. 332:

From the gash
A stream of *nectarous* humour issuing flowed
Sanguine, such as celestial spirits may bleed.

Bentley desired to read 'ichorous,' but the passage quoted with its explanation is a plausible argument in favour of the text as it stands. It is, however, to be noted that the Armada Epic speaks of evil spirits nourished on the nectar of the Pagan gods, and does not state that it served them instead of blood.

We may also parallel the simile—

'Qualis in effoetam vicino vertice quercum,
Flamma polo jaculata cadit, depressaque pascit
Brachia ramorum, sylvamque amplectitur omnem.'

with *Paradise Lost*, i. 612:

'As when Heaven's fire
Hath scathed the forest oaks, or mountain pines,
With singéd top their stately growth, though bare
Stands on the blasted heath.'

The machinery of the poem, its distinctly epic and noble character—for the author has the grand style—and the use made of angels, there being nine representing the nine orders, all point to the Miltonic hypothesis.

We quote one more passage, that descriptive of Terror :

Ille per altum
Ocyor aspectu, mentisque simillimus ictui,
Evolat et caeco Terrorem accersit ab antro,
Antrum immane, minax lapsuris undique saxis,
Finibus Arctois positum sub nocte perenni ;
Haud loca nota viris ; habitant in littore phocae
Ursique informes, et corpora dira ferarum,
Infaustaeque stryges ; totoque in limine circum
Stant lemures, umbraeque et spectra nocentia visu,
Tum mala Prodigia, et dubiae Discrimina vitae,
Captivique Metus, atque ingens incubat Horror.
Inde ruit : magnaue tremens vi concitus astat,
Corpus inane volans, cinctum omnibus undique monstribus,
Jussaque tanta capit divini ex ore ministri.
Terrorum rex dire ! cavam nunc desere sedem ;
Quaeque parant fessi flammantia tela Britanni,
Tu rege rapta manu. Tali sermone ciebat
Laetantem nimium tantos miscere tumultus !
Ille fremens, quantum displosa tonitrua reddunt,
Et quantum freta qua sese gemina aequora rumpunt,
Horrendum attollit risum ; tremit Arctica tellus,
Diffissaeque jugis rupes, aeternaque ponti
Fracta sono glacies, moto caelum axe tremiscit.

There are many points in which this fragment may be paralleled in writings of Milton. But there is no space to enter into more detail. It is, in our opinion, not easy for an impartial reader of these fragments, together with the preceding discourse on the poetic art, not to feel the very high degree of probability that they were from the same mind which, when more mature, produced *Paradise Lost*.

The 'Bridal Song of Heavenly Love' does not, on the face of it, bear such strong testimony. But its whole construction is fully in accordance with Milton's temperament : we have the religious aim, the theological scheme, and the dramatic structure—to be paralleled with his remarks on the Song of

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Solomon ; besides some minor details of resemblance mentioned by Mr. Begley in the notes. Mr. Begley does well too to point out that the exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity in Jacob's account of his conversion to Christianity is taken almost *verbatim* from a treatise on the subject by Milton's old headmaster Gill. The discussion of the Sabbatarian question is even more remarkable. While rejecting the views inculcated in the *Book of Sports* in favour of the more Puritan conception of Sunday, the writer refuses to admit the identification of Sunday and Sabbath which was so common at that day. The views and arguments are almost exactly those of Thomas Young, Milton's revered tutor. But the remarkable point is that in *Nova Solyma* they are put into the mouth of Apollos, the tutor of Joseph. The introduction of a large number of verse renderings of parts of the Bible, translated afresh from the original, is another Miltonic trait. The denunciation of duelling in Book V. is in accordance with Milton's known views, as shown in his *Common-place Book*. Lastly, the remarks of Joseph, who is clearly to be identified with the author of *Nova Solyma* in regard to his patriotic ambitions, are entirely in agreement with what must have been in Milton's mind in the years before he took a public position. Mr. Begley thinks that if Milton wrote the book, he must have done so during the quiet years he spent at Horton, after his return from Italy ; and for that hypothesis the passage is apposite enough. No doubt, however, the author used in this work many fugitive pieces of verse he had by him written at various times. Many, indeed, are introduced without any reference to the situation in the story. It is an appropriate account of the career and aims of Milton, whether or no he wrote it himself.

'It is my custom,' Joseph went on to say, 'thus by poesy to exercise the higher emotions which God has implanted in us all, for it is my opinion that herein lies the greatest service of that art to man. Some persons make the mistake of devoting themselves to poetry alone, or to little else ; while others, chiefly of the uncultured class, from want of taste for it, fall into the equal error of either boorish indifference or envious railing.'

'The true life that we should embrace is one of solid reality and

severe earnestness; not a course of life that promises the greatest gain or the most luxurious ease, nor yet one leading to fame or successful ambition, but rather that way should be chosen which, from a careful consideration of all things, seems most likely to tend to the glory of God and the service of our fellow citizens. Such a life, when chosen, is of ever increasing interest. . . .

'As for me,' continued Joseph, 'I am daily turning over these great matters in my mind, and am looking forward to the time when I shall be called from my father's household to some useful position where I can serve my country.'

A passage from Milton's *Reason of Church Government*, quoted by Mr. Begley, has, in our opinion, so important a bearing on the question that it is necessary to quote it. As it exhibits at its best the too little read prose of the author, it will be found of interest, even by those who regard the argument as delusive. He speaks of a projected task:

'Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope and hardest attempt; whether that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model; . . . the Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon, consisting of two persons and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges. Or if occasion shall lead to imitate those magnificent odes and hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable.'

'These abilities, wheresoever they may be found, are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation; and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility, and to allay the perturbations of the mind and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's Almightyness, and what He works and what He suffers to be wrought with high Providence in His church; to sing . . . the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ. Lastly,

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whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thought from within, all these things with a solid and tractable smoothness to point out and describe.'

We think it hardly too much to say with Mr. Begley that 'here we find *Nova Solyma* described and compressed as in a nutshell.' There is not a single element of the description wanting to the romance, though opinions may differ as to the value of the accomplishment.

There is one more consideration not touched upon by Mr. Begley. The scope of the romance is limited. It is not like *Oceana*, a treatise on political science. There is no constitution-mongering. We are left to infer that the commonwealth of *Nova Solyma* is kingless; of the mode of government nothing is said, unless the election of Jacob to be *princeps senatus* is to be considered as of any value. It is clear that the writer is concerned not so much with an ideal of government as with a duly ordered social life and a wise and liberal education. This is in full accordance with Milton's practice and theory. It is true that in a *Ready Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* he went a little further in this direction, but this was for an immediate practical purpose. The vagueness and negative character of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, the extreme individualism of his temperament as exhibited in *Areopagitica* and his later writings on Church Government, are all opposed to the habit of mind of a Sieyès or even a Harrington. He says himself that the imaginative creation of entirely new states, like those of New Atlantis and Utopia, was purely fantastic and futile. Now in *Nova Solyma* there is nothing revolutionary, either in politics or economics; the book, indeed, is in this respect far more akin to the narrow horizon of Puritan and Whig sentiment than are the famous ideal cities of Sir Thomas More and Campanella. References to politics are few and far between, save for a probable reference to Strafford under the title of Cæsar and a casual condemnation of tyranny and the attempt to forward spiritual things by coercive methods. Moreover,

while the writer fully shares the Puritan and Whig views as to the desirability of the economic subjection of the working-classes, this does not, of course, confine the authorship to Milton, but it is at least in accordance with his ideas. He never showed any such interest in the lower classes as the *Utopia* exhibits, and his ideals, like those of *Oceana*, are either aristocratic or at least those of the upper middle class, to which he belonged. Puritanism, it is to be remembered, was not a democratic nor a socialistic movement in the strict sense at all, nor did it lead in its hours of victory to democratic government, and even in the view of professed republicans who disliked the despotism of Cromwell it was an oligarchy of virtue and knowledge which was the ideal. Nor is there, we believe, any evidence that Puritanism raised or attempted to raise the condition of the working-classes.

There is one and only one point more worthy of mention before we leave the question of authorship. For Milton, as for the author of *Nova Solyma*, sin is the transgression of the entirely arbitrary commands of the Divine Lawgiver. Although in some respects Milton was not an upholder of the more rigid teaching of Calvin, he fully shared the belief of his day as to the illimitable sovereignty of God. One of the reasons why many people find the conceptions of *Paradise Lost* unsatisfying is the irresponsible tyranny therein attributed to the Creator. Indeed, it is the unconscious feeling of this that produces that picture of Satan, of which it is the fashion to say that he became the hero of the poem in spite of the author. We are not so sure of this. But it is clear that Milton's Satan, regarded as the revolutionary opponent, not of God as Love but as arbitrary and non-moral caprice, deserves, as indeed he obtains, not the judgment but the sympathy of men. The whole of *Paradise Lost*, like the whole of Calvinistic theology, is a glorification of God's Power at the expense of His Love, or rather it isolates the conception of His Power, and draws inferences as to Divine action from the spectacle of an earthly Emperor *legibus solutus*, which is to modern thought as repulsive as it is unreasonable. It is certain that the notion of sin entertained by Milton in *Paradise Lost* and elsewhere was simply that of

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disobedience, not to what was right but to the 'positive law simply and strictly so-called,' which has the sanction of damnation to support it. Now this view, which was certainly that of Milton (we forbear to quote the passage of the *De Doctrina Christiana*; Mr. Begley translates it on ii. 56), is exactly the view of *Nova Solyma*.

After comparing the prohibition of Eden to a peppercorn-rent, he goes on :

'The force and authority of law consists in the will and order of the legislator [in regia voluntate et institutione imperantis], and has to be accepted with implicit faith and the most perfect obedience. And so it behoved our first parents to accept with faith this prohibitory order, although no reason or fixed law of justice gave it sanction; and indeed, if there had been no command given by God concerning the tree, their abstaining from it might have been a superstitious and wicked act.'

Thus, it is seen, morality is simply the idealised 'Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem.' Like its scheme of redemption, the seventeenth century notion of right and wrong was purely positive and forensic. Man is the slave of a Divine tyrant; and no reason is to govern His action. In this way obedience is taught more perfectly.

'The precept was concerning a matter to which our first parents were by nature indifferent or evenly balanced till the Divine command turned the scale. Therefore it is that special mention is made of the promulgation of this law, and of this alone, all the rest being silently inscribed on the tablets of the mind.'

It is at least clear that the writer of *Nova Solyma* envisaged the Fall and the nature of the command and of the temptation—in the desire to 'be as gods,' not fleshly appetite—in the same way as the author of *Paradise Lost*. *Nova Solyma* exhibits the same interest in cosmology, a similar contemptuous attitude towards the views then new as merely 'conjectural,' and the same attitude towards art, as can be detected in the great epic.

It seems to us then more probable than not, in the absence of all external evidence either way, that this romance is by John Milton. The discovery of a single piece of good

external testimony might, of course, shatter the whole argument, essentially a cumulative one, like a pack of cards. But until that be the case, in spite of all qualifications derived from Mr. Begley's singular lapses of taste and strange love of weakening his case by over-statement and wearying his readers by repetition, the residuum of solid worth in his contention seems sufficiently strong to make it the wiser plan to follow the guidance of the editor. If he be not very judicious at all times, he is, on the other hand, excessively erudite, and has the literature of romance at his fingers' ends.

But whether or no the work be by Milton, it is an advantage to have it published. It will serve to set right the popular view of Puritanism which is purely negative. Partly owing to the brevity of its triumph, partly to the strong stress it laid on the repressive virtues, and to the Puritans being emphatically 'good haters,' there is nearly as much misconception of the true nature of Puritanism, or at any rate of the higher minds who are denominated Puritans, as there is in the popular notion of monasticism, and probably even of the Jesuit order. In all these cases, the mistake has been made of trying to form a notion of a religious ideal merely by considering its antipathies. Monasticism was hostile to marriage, despised family life, shunned the world, disdained the flesh, was inimical to the national state. Hence its positive services to civilization are depreciated by the average man, and denied by the popular historian. The Society of Jesus destroyed the individual, upset governments, opposed all unity that was not Papal, derided the notion of progress in theology, forwarded persecution of its adversaries. Here, again, the positive work of the Jesuits in education, in missions, in reformation, in making the Roman Church 'efficient' is ignored or set aside. Perhaps the majority of the readers of this Review have avoided both of these errors. But they will hardly deny that they are still reigning in the daily press and the common consciousness, and form largely the material on which the melodramatic rhetoric of Dr. Clifford is able to work with such apparent success.

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of the Puritan tradition. It is the error, not of the zealous Churchman as such but, of the common tradition of cultivated men. It has been deepened and heightened by Macaulay, who in regard to Puritanism, no less than in regard to Laud, exhibited to the full the power denounced by Matthew Arnold as the perpetual semblance of 'hitting the right nail on the head without ever doing it.' True, there is some excuse. A mind like Macaulay's, always occupied with the keen observation of the superficial aspect of things, and incapable of philosophic insight, might easily be led into treating the negative and disagreeable aspects of Puritanism as the all-important, because they are the most obvious. As Mr. Gardiner said of him, in regard to Bacon's political life, he wrote of it 'without understanding either the nature of the man or the ideas of the age in which he lived,' and he represents and by representing strengthens the attitude of *l'homme moyen sensuel* in regard to all the deeper sides of life, religious, political, and intellectual alike. This attitude naturally, whether in regard to monasticism, to Romanism or to Puritanism, fixes on the outwardly striking antagonisms of each system. It does not so much misstate as overstate. It ignores one element, and that the deepest, in Puritanism, and lays stress on another which, however characteristic, is not the whole. Puritanism, like nearly all ascetic ideals, had in it a strong Manichæan bias. We know it chiefly by its enmities. It was active for destruction. It destroyed the monarchy, the aristocracy, and finally the representative system; it abolished the drama, it proscribed the Liturgy, it persecuted the bishops, it knocked down statues, overturned altars, and shattered windows. It first abolished tyranny, and then destroyed liberty, and finally completed its career of devastation by giving the *coup de grâce* to itself. Few movements have been to all appearances more uniform in their destructive tendencies than was English political Puritanism.

But it is no more right to judge Puritanism by its antipathies than it is Christianity. We should get but a meagre notion of the latter if we described it as nothing but the successful adversary of Paganism. It is this over-emphasis on the negative side that leads to the sympathetic extrava-

gances of Tolstoi or Fox, and to the blasphemous scorn of Nietzsche and Swinburne. Nor is the fault altogether with the latter. Too many Christians in all ages write and speak as though the *raison d'être* of God was merely the defeat of the devil, and holiness consisted only in some form of renunciation.

But the vital force of all religion is never on its negative side. Mr. Froude once declared that the real *differentia* of all religious movements was on their negative side: men suffered persecution because they *disbelieved* in Paganism, in Transubstantiation, in the Trinity, in Episcopacy, in Presbytery, not because they believed any particular tenet. No view could be shallower. It was the strength of the *positive* factor in their faith that enabled men to endure martyrdom, not its negative element; for pure disbelief without belief is always compatible, both logically and practically, with conformity, and many such cases can be met with daily. A man must have faith of some sort to be a revolutionary or a martyr.

Now it is the constructive side of Puritanism that *Nova Solyma* expresses, and expresses with very considerable success. The scope of the work is such that its antagonisms are only indicated by omissions. Political liberty, *as such*, never was and never will be an ideal of Puritanism, and the fact is writ large in the controversial literature of the seventeenth century. It may be found, if anyone cares to look for it, in the politics of to-day; for it is apparent that nothing is further from the ideal of Puritanism than the idea of the right of the majority to make its own arrangements, or of justice to different points of view. Puritanism at its best was constructive. Starting from the conception, made familiar to us all by Mr. James, of 'the twice-born soul,' it desired to see a new 'city of God' upon earth, in which, with whatever latitude for political and natural differences, the life of the Christian should be properly trained and guarded by a State directed by religious principles and acting solely from the highest aims. Puritanism did not then, any more than it does really now, contemplate the modern ideal of a 'free Church in a free State,' or regard the

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State from the secular standpoint of Locke or Hoadly or Warburton. It is a commonplace that the ideal of the modern representative of Puritanism is not a secular State, with all kinds of religions promulgated, but a State in which (while numerous Churches, on account of the hardness of men's hearts, continue to exist) the young shall be carefully trained in a single, uniform system, satisfactory to none but those who look forward to a great undenominational Church or federation of Churches in the future. The ideal, in fact, would have admirably suited Samuel Hartlib, the author of *Makaria*. For the sake of peace different sects might for a time continue; but with careful school-training all barriers of thought will disappear in a generation or two, and the legal and traditionary fences will tumble down for want of mending.

Now this ideal of a Christian State in accordance with Puritan principles is the whole purpose of *Nova Solyma*. It was not until the middle ages had passed away that such an aim could be entertained. From the fifth to the fifteenth century men's minds, in regard to the ideal State, were, consciously or not, under the dominating influence of the *De Civitate Dei*. That was the favourite reading of Charles the Great. That was, if not the unique source, at least the ideal in accordance with which the Holy Roman Empire staggered through centuries of impotence. The struggles of men for a perfect polity centred round this conception, and were but different developments of the same notion. The *De Monarchia* of Dante, the *De Potestate Ecclesiastica* of Agostino del Trionfo, the *De Recuperatione Terrae Sanctae* of Pierre Dubois, are all but variations on the same theme, differing and even antagonistic as are the points of view of the authors. The unity of the world under one religion and with one polity was the last word of mediæval politics; and although its ideals were mainly such because they were not realized, it must be admitted that from the time when the new forces of thought and discovery shattered the old ideals and political arrangements of Europe, there has been no such grandeur of conception possible, for Christendom has now become a mere geographical expression. 'The principles of Western

civilization' are chiefly conspicuous by their absence. The world seems drifting rudderless towards an unseen goal, the sport of materialistic currents and racial antagonisms. And what will be the unifying and constructive ideals of the future, who can say?

But the issue of all this could not be foreseen at once. It was only clear to the men of the 'Renaissance' and the 'Reform,' that the old order had broken up. It was only natural that they should set forth their dreams of a new. The critical spirit, so strong in the Renaissance, found its outcome in the wonderful irony of the *Utopia*; and the revolutionary enthusiasm of Campanella goes far beyond the merely surface reform of *Nova Solyma*. Milton, or whoever was its author, had no taste for schemes of universal equality, and no desire at all to elevate seriously the working-classes. It is, then, to the ordering of the lives of the well-to-do that he mainly turns. In this, as in other matters, the book displays the curious want of imagination of Puritanism, and even of latter-day Nonconformity, which has never been able to lift its mind above the limitations of the particular classes to which most of its members belong. Simplicity in life, in dress, in food, are inculcated. Pomp and pageantry, except for public purposes, are repressed. Idleness is discouraged, for the life of Joseph is clearly meant to be the model. There is no mention of any form of clericalism, and the marriage ceremony is performed by one who, if intended for a cleric, is not so called. Duelling is prohibited, and there is no sympathy for the ordinary aristocratic amusements. Drama, though not prohibited, is very narrowly restrained. The importance of religion is of course the basis of all; it is entirely individualistic and Puritan, and the spiritual crisis of Joseph is evidently to be regarded as *comme il faut*. Yet the life, though simple, is not monotonous; and beyond the wearisome character of all attempts at descriptions of an ideal State, there is no suggestion of undue ascetic tendencies, or of the harsher and more disagreeable features associated with Puritanism. It was once remarked to the writer that Milton was not, properly speaking, a Puritan, because of his culture; the same would be true of the author of *Nova Solyma*. But, as we

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said above, this conception of the Puritan *ἦθος* is one-sided, and alike in *Nova Solyma* and *Oceana* the ideal of life is of a large and liberal order. We must never forget that Oliver Cromwell was among the earliest breeders of race-horses. The life of a denizen of *Nova Solyma* would not, so far as we can understand, greatly differ from the life of a modern country gentleman, officer, merchant, or even politician, who had a strong sense of duty, considerable religious earnestness, and a good public school and university education as the foundation of a literary taste and outdoor hardiness. Such a man would not in our own time give up all his days to hunting or his nights to bridge; and it is ten to one that he would not be a High Churchman; nor would he approve of duelling, nor allow his children to get drunk nor to waste their time.

The constructive principles of Puritanism on its larger side have had a great deal more to do with the development of the ideals of the least 'Puritanical' among us than would be imagined from the usage of ordinary language. If this fact be emphasized by the appearance of *Nova Solyma*, we may be grateful to the editor apart from all question of the authorship. It is the seventeenth century *Civitas Dei*, as indeed its name implies, and if the canvas is smaller, and the brushwork less attractive than that of the great African Father, we must remember that the rise of nationalities, the discovery of the New World, and the complete decay of the mediæval system of the hegemony of Europe by Pope and Emperor, shattered the framework of society and dissolved the traditions of centuries; and that even now, after four centuries of continuous struggles and fructifying thought, we are still apparently as far as ever from any general agreement (even to differ) on the constructive and regulative ideals of men and nations in society. *Nova Solyma* was an early effort; not (as we saw) so unsuccessful as it seemed, and vastly more interesting and attractive than *Oceana* or even the *New Atlantis*.

It remains to say a few words of the romance. We suppose it is all right. There is the usual thing that the taste of the day demanded. We have pirates, shipwrecks, banditti, disguises, diseases; men in love, in liquor, in distress; amorous females dressed as boys or in the guise of widows; sisters so

like as to be mistaken ; old friends rediscovering one another, and so on.

There is no attempt at character-drawing, and in not one of the *dramatis personæ* do we feel the slightest interest. Mr. Begley thinks the writer improved on Barclay's *Argenis*. We cannot agree with him. So far as the story is concerned *Argenis* strikes us as far superior. It is, indeed, quite different. For it is a historical novel or *roman à clef*, while *Nova Solyma* is the description of an ideal State. Yet it may safely be asserted that no one will read it as a romance ; neither plot nor personalities have any reality. It is as the expression of Puritan ideals of what the new world that was clearly in the making was to be, that it has its permanent value and interest. The triumph of political Puritanism was shortlived and disastrous, for it was probably the most unpopular government England ever had, save the reign of Mary ; in both cases the cause was the same, the inspiring spirit was that of a narrow clericalism. But though Puritanism as a politico-religious party was not long in the ascendant, many of its governing ideas found their way into the more serious minded of all classes and have had a profound influence upon the national character. These or some of them will be found in *Nova Solyma*, whence we can learn that the Puritan was no Little Englander, no mere ascetic, no opponent of war or hunting or reading as such ; but that his ideal was a State governed on principles of righteousness, training its members—body, mind, and spirit—in all the faculties and sentiments which may minister to the efficiency and energy appropriate to the conduct of a Christian member of an orderly and self-controlling society. Religion since the Reformation, said Sir F. A. Hort, has been 'departmental' and given up the aim of controlling the whole of human life in the way that mediæval Catholicism attempted. This is unfortunately to a certain extent true, but it was not so always, or in aim, and such books as *Nova Solyma* are the proof of a broader ideal.

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ART. VI.—JOAN OF ARC.

1. *Histoire de France*. Edited by ERNEST LAVISSE. Tome IV. (II.), Charles VII., Louis XI., et les premières années de Charles VIII. (1422-1492). Par Ch. PETIT-DUTAILLIS. (Paris: Hachette, 1902.)
2. *L'Abjuration de Jeanne d'Arc au Cimetière de Saint-Ouen et l'authenticité de sa formule*. Par le Chanoine ULYSSE CHEVALIER. (Paris: Picard, 1902.)
3. *Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orleans*. Being the story of her Life, her Achievements, and her Death, as attested on oath and set forth in the original documents. Edited by T. DOUGLAS MURRAY. (London: W. Heinemann, 1902.)

WE have placed these three volumes at the head of what we purpose to say because they are characteristic, each in its different way, of the interest which the career of Joan of Arc excites in different readers and writers at the present day. The first is a volume from the great history of France, which is being written by eminent scholars under the general supervision of M. Ernest Lavissee, to which we have already once alluded.¹ In this, as one of the greatest figures in the historical development of the nation, Joan of course appears, and is dealt with critically and at length. The second is a minute study of one portion of the Maid's career—a part of grave importance, in view of the process of beatification, which was in its earlier stages when the treatise was written. The third is an English 'œuvre de vulgarisation,' a well-executed and summary translation of the most important parts of the mass of documents relating to the trial and the 'rehabilitation' of Joan, as published by Quicherat between 1841 and 1849. The three books illustrate sufficiently the growth of interest, on different lines, in the unique career of the wonderful peasant girl, and they serve to show that the process carried on at Rome, and watched with the keenest interest by Catholics in France, will be no more than the completion,

¹ *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. liii. No. 106 (January 1902).

from an ecclesiastical standing-point, of the growing admiration and enthusiasm of historical students. The ecclesiastical process, indeed, has been the occasion of concentrating attention, not in France alone, upon the wonderful story of the child, 'unlearned and ignorant,' but of marvellous genius, who led the armies of France to victory, who changed, indeed, it might seem, the whole history of the nation, and implanted or revived a spirit of patriotism among the peoples of the whole land, so slenderly knit together ethnologically or historically—a spirit so little evident, if not non-existent, before her day, but one which since then has never failed.

The nation and the Church alike turn for the story of their heroine, not in its broad outlines, but in its intimate personal details, to the authentic documents of the extraordinary examination, twenty-five years after her death, which led to the 'rehabilitation' of the Maid.

'Le procès de réhabilitation de la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc, qui fut fait par la volonté du Pape Calixte III. fournit aux défenseurs de la cause de très précieux et très solides arguments. Car les dépositions que l'on y trouve consignées sont celles de témoins oculaires.'¹

It is this, with the earlier examinations, that forms the staple of Mr. Douglas Murray's presentation of the case to English readers. He says of his book :

'The following document concerning the story of the life and death of Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orleans, is probably the only known instance in which a complete biographical record, of historical importance, has been elicited by evidence taken on oath. These depositions cover the childhood of the Maid, the series of her military exploits at the head of the armies of France, her capture, imprisonment, and death at the stake in the market-place of Rouen.'

It is on these, with some additional evidence only recently accessible in the chronicle of Morosini,² that we must rely for our knowledge of the authentic history of the wonderful child—she was only eighteen—who saved France. On these we will base a short sketch of her extraordinary career.

But first we must say something of the special occasion

¹ *La Croix*, 17 mars 1903.

² Vol. iii. (edited by Dorez and Lefèvre-Pontalis), 1901.

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for interest in the story of the Maid to-day. It is, of course, the claim to rank her among the saints. The process of beatification is described at length in the great work of Benedict XIV, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione*.¹ The person beatified is one who, by Papal authority acting on the decision of the Sacred Congregation after a prolonged investigation, of which every step is minutely regulated by precedent, may be publicly venerated with exposition of relics.² Miracles, not necessarily more than three, are required; these, in the case of Joan, will presumably be of modern growth—we do not remember to have read of any attributed to her in her own age. As for relics, they cannot be had; for, after the burning, the ashes of her body were thrown into the Seine.

The process of beatification in the present case seems to have been formally begun on January 27, 1894, when the 'decree concerning the cause for the beatification and canonization of the venerable servant of God, Jeanne d'Arc' was issued. For eight years it made slow progress. But on the occasion of the pontifical jubilee of Leo XIII. the French bishops, speaking for the French Church, proud of her 'titre de Fille première-née de l'Eglise,' presented an address³ of dutiful congratulation to the Pope. After the expression of all proper sentiments, the bishops proceeded to turn the opportunity to account by suggesting that amid the unhappy religious troubles of their country it might be possible to hope for peace through a new rapprochement between Rome and the Government, and that the name of Joan the Maid might form the link of reunion. Thus discreetly they expressed their wish:

'Enfin, Très Saint-Père, ce désir de pacification, cet espoir d'un relèvement prochain et d'un avenir fécond pour notre pays, nous

¹ Benedicti XIV. P. M. olim Prosperi Card. de Lambertinis, *Opus de Serv. Dei* (&c.). Editio secunda Romana sub auspiciis SS.D.nostri Pii Sexti P.O.M. 15 vols. Romæ, 1787-1792.

² See Benedict XIV. *op. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 158-188.

³ This is given in M. Petit de Julleville's *Life*; see also *Analecta Bollandiana*, xiv. 453.

⁴ The address and the Pope's reply were published authoritatively in *La Croix*, 3 février, 1903, from which we reproduce our extracts.

pressent de confier à Votre cœur, en la circonstance solennelle de Votre Jubilé Pontifical, le vœu qui est la prière instante de l'Eglise de France, de voir bientôt sur les autels notre Jeanne d'Arc, cette *Fille de Dieu*, comme disaient ses Voix, en qui s'incarna, au xv^e siècle, l'âme de la Patrie française et qui a passé dans notre histoire comme une radieuse apparition de l'amour du Christ pour les Francs. Que du moins cette année jubilaire ne s'achève point sans que la cause ait fait le pas décisif si impatiemment attendu !

'Et nous ne craignons pas, Très Saint-Père, que ces instances de l'Episcopat français paraissent à Votre Sainteté, ni téméraires, ni indiscrètes ; car, pour en avoir recueilli si souvent l'aveu sur Vos lèvres, nous savons qu'elles sont l'écho de Votre propre sentiment, à tel point qu'il nous semble, au contraire, entrer dans Vos vues en sollicitant cette insigne faveur.'

The Pope's reply was significant and characteristic. It was a beautiful prayer for peace, a recognition in strong language of the progress of public policy, in different States, contrary to the interests of Christianity. Anxious though he is to remain on the most friendly terms with the Government of the French Republic it is impossible to disguise the impression which is made on him by the policy which it has pursued ; but he would prefer to attribute it rather to evil influences affecting the nation than directly to those in power or in the people at large.

'Qui ne se sentirait, en effet, profondément ému en face des machinations auxquelles sont en butte, aujourd'hui, les lois chrétiennes ? Quel évêque vraiment vigilant peut ignorer qu'une influence funeste, partout répandue, inculque à la multitude les erreurs les plus pernicieuses, arrache à l'enfance toute religion, livre au mépris les institutions de l'Eglise, s'efforce enfin de ruiner cette Eglise elle-même, fondée par le Christ ? Et pourtant, dans toutes les branches de l'activité humaine, les nations ont ressenti les heureux effets de la foi divine ; il est évident aussi que le progrès des États naît du respect de la religion, et que les plus florissantes Républiques ont été ruinées par l'impiété.'

Great hope for France, however, springs from the cordial union of the Episcopate, which is evident in their address to him. They preserve, with simple and inviolable faithfulness, the loyalty of the first, the missionary, bishops of Gaul, who

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won for her the name of 'Catholic.' The hope of the Church, the Pope declares, lies in the continuance of this 'fidelity, and in its display in education of the young.' But there is another hope: the Unseen will minister to the strugglers on earth. He thus anticipated the formal conclusion of the process which will rank Joan of Arc among the saints. It is not lawful without the authority of the Holy See (according to the judgment of Pope Benedict XIV.) to invoke anyone as saint; but Leo XIII., before the beatification of the Maid of Orleans, thus addressed the French bishops:

'Nous mettons aussi Notre espoir dans les prières que vous adressez à la vénérable Jeanne d'Arc, et Nous avons la confiance que cette vierge si bonne vous sera d'un puissant secours. Saisissant l'occasion de ces solennités jubilaires, vous Nous priez instamment de mettre Jeanne, toujours invaincue, au nombre des bienheureuses: ce serait pour Notre amour paternel une véritable satisfaction que d'accorder à la France catholique, comme une nouvelle marque de bienveillance, cette grâce tant désirée. Mais vous n'ignorez pas, que dans l'affaire si grave que vous Nous proposez, on doit religieusement observer les lois qui règlent la procédure de la Sacrée Congrégation des Rites. C'est pourquoi Nous ne pouvons maintenant que demander à Dieu de faire aboutir cette cause au gré de vos désirs.'

So the matter still stands. The conclusion of the process, so far as we are aware, has not yet been reached. No formal decree of beatification has been published. It is left for Pius X. to complete the work of his predecessor.

There is no reason to doubt that the desire for the beatification of Joan of Arc was brought about by a genuine veneration for her heroic virtues and her saintly witness. Cardinal Langénieux, archbishop of Rheims, speaking to a representative of *La Croix*, said no more than the truth when, after speaking of the solemnity of the lengthy process, he expressed the effect which the study of the documents had had upon his mind.

'Certes (ajoutait le cardinal) je suis frappé, pour mon compte personnel, de la splendeur des vertus pratiquées par notre chère héroïne. Sa piété profonde, sa candeur éblouissante, le don qu'elle a eu, à un si haut point, d'imposer à tous un religieux respect de sa personne, sont un signe de l'esprit de Dieu qui était en elle.'

At the same time the occasion is a politic one for utilising French national and military sentiment, in harmony with the policy of the Vatican. In saying so much, however, we are far from suggesting that Joan of Arc is not worthy of the very highest honours that can be paid to her memory. We are fully as enthusiastic on her behalf as *La Croix* would have us be, though the evidence that paper relies upon is hardly conclusive.¹ The beatification of Joan of Arc is a Catholic as well as a national event.

What, then, was the story of the heroine whose memory still stirs the hearts of all who know it?

Jeanne d'Arc, the child of Jacques d'Arc and Isabelle Romée, was born between 1410 and 1412, in the village of Domrémy, on the eastern frontier of France. The exact date of her birth is doubtful, and it is doubtful even whether she was born French or a Lorrainer.² She was the youngest of five children, and she was brought up as poor peasants' children were, learning no more than the Pater, the Ave, and the Credo, knowing 'ni A ni B,' as she said in her trial.

It was when she was about twelve years old, in the summer of 1424, that she first heard a mysterious voice which summoned her to be the deliverer of France. Step by step a revelation came to her, she thought from St. Michael, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret, in the legends of whom she might well find courage and inspiration. The archangel told her 'the piteous state of the realm of France.' In May 1428, about Ascension-tide, the voices

¹ *La Croix*, 24 février, 1903: 'L'on sait que S. Em. le cardinal Ferrata a succédé au cardinal Parocchi comme cardinal ponent de la cause de Jeanne d'Arc. Il peut être intéressant de rappeler à cette occasion que le cardinal Parocchi avait succédé lui-même au cardinal Howard. Cette présence d'un Anglais comme cardinal ponent avait été dès lors une preuve éclatante que l'Angleterre était sympathique à la glorification de Jeanne d'Arc. En même temps, ce choix du cardinal Howard montre que, dès le début, les postulateurs ont poussé jusqu'à l'extrême délicatesse le souci d'avoir des juges non seulement désintéressés, mais le paraissant avec évidence.'

² On both these subjects there has been hot controversy. On the former, the conclusion of M. C. Petit-Dutaillis, that the date is uncertain, is to be preferred; on the latter, see the references given by M. Chevalier, p. 6.

became more urgent;¹ in January 1429 she went to Vaucouleurs, the nearest military station, and told the governor, Robert de Baudricourt, that she was sent to save France. 'Je suis une pauvre fille, qui ne sait ni monter à cheval ni faire la guerre,' she had said; but the voice had answered, 'C'est Dieu qui l'ordonne.'

Baudricourt doubted, as a soldier would, what might be the meaning of the singular declaration; he told the parish priest to exorcise her. The measure was ineffective. She persisted, in spite of rude pleasantries and awkward compliments to her ruddy cheeks and brown hair. She must go and find the 'Dauphin,' she said, and bring him to his crowning at Rheims. 'Dusse-je aller trouver le Dauphin sur mes genoux, j'irai.' And she went.

To Chinon she came in February. Only too familiar with ineffectual wizards and visionaries, Charles was in no haste to see her. He seemed at the lowest ebb of his fortunes. Orleans was ready to fall; the citizens had begged Philip the Good of Burgundy to save them from the English, but Bedford had no intention of pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for anyone else. The 'Dauphin' listened to advisers who urged him to fly to Dauphiné, or Castile, or even Scotland. At last he saw the Maid, and was astonished, but hardly yet convinced. Jeanne was interrogated by bishops, lawyers of the Parliament, clerks of the University of Paris.² The decision was in her favour. Says M. Chevalier, 'L'ardeur de sa foi, la chaleur de ses convictions lui avaient conquis le cœur et l'esprit des examinateurs.' They found in her nothing but 'goodness, humility, devotion, honesty, simplicity.' In speech she could hold her own with the best of them.

¹ Most of the modern writers, including the latest, M. Chevalier, have thought that she paid a first visit to Vaucouleurs at this time, but M. Petit-Dutaillis accepts Mr. Lowell's proof that this was not so.

² Le P. Ayroles, author of the most voluminous modern treatises on the history of the Maid, regards the 'schismatic University' as throughout the enemy of his heroine, and at last guilty of her blood. See an extremely entertaining review in the *Athenaeum*, November 8, 1902, as to the worth of which one can only adapt the words of Erasmus to More, 'Aut Morus es, aut diabolus,' and for 'Morus' substitute 'Mr. Andrew Lang.'

In April the Maid was at Chinon with a military *entourage* of her own. Her enthusiasm was infectious. Hardy knights and men-at-arms flocked to her white standard, on which God blessed the *fleurs-de-lys*, and which bore for motto *Jesus, Maria*. A 'holy war' seemed to have begun.

Before she took the field she wrote a letter to the English, which she sent to the Regent Bedford. 'Give up to the lawful king the keys of all the cities you have seized and stolen in France: I am come from the heavenly King to drive you from the land.' Such was her message. The English replied, as was natural, with mockery, and the investment of Orleans was pressed still closer.

On April 28, 1429, the relieving army, with Joan of Arc on horseback at its head, left Blois, singing the *Veni Creator*. Then, as ever, some doubted; but on the very next day she entered Orleans in triumph. Once there, she inspired new life into the people. It was not strategy that was wanted, it was self-confidence, and that she possessed in the highest degree, because she never thought of herself apart from the divine blessing on her mission. She led *sortie* after *sortie*, she allowed the enemy no time to perfect their investment, and on the 8th of May the English were in full retreat.

The relief of Orleans was followed by a national rising. From every province, even from distant Toulouse, came letters acclaiming the Maid as divinely sent; in every district popular courage reawoke, and celebrated its resurrection in rhymes against the invaders. In Dauphiné they sang

'Arière, Englois couez, arrière! . . .
Aiés la goutte et la gravelle
Et le coul taillé rasibus.'

In the army itself all was consecrated to God. No pillage, no debauchery, no blasphemy was allowed. The Maid was pure and holy herself, and she expected others who were engaged in the like work to be as she was. Strange to say, she succeeded almost in the height of her wish. There is a pathetic truthfulness in the evidence given in 1455 by Louis de Contes, who had been her page when he was fourteen or fifteen in the days of the delivery of Orleans.

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He had often seen her pray and communicate ; he remembered that she would weep as she prayed.

'She was a good and modest woman, living as a Catholic, very pious, and, when she could, never failing to be present at the Mass. To hear blasphemies upon the name of our Lord vexed her. Many times when the Duke of Alençon swore or blasphemed before her, I heard her reprove him. As a rule no one in the army dared swear or blaspheme before her, for fear of being reprimanded. She would have no women in her army. One day, near Château Thierry, seeing the mistress of one of her followers riding on horseback, she pursued her with her sword, without striking at her at all ; but with gentleness and charity she told her she must no longer be found among the soldiers, otherwise she would suffer for it.'¹

Her enthusiasm was soon seen to be supported by true military genius. She developed an extraordinary capacity for war.² She freed the banks of the Loire from the English, on whom there fell a panic which Bedford described to his nephew, the child-king Henry VI. The battle of Patay, June 18, 1429, was the climax of a series of victories which, an Italian eyewitness wrote to Avignon, were the saving of the country through the hands of a pure and spotless girl.

To Rheims, through a country much of which was in the enemy's hands, she forced her way ; the city, under the influence of the Franciscan brother Richard, and in fear of capture by assault, opened its gates, and Charles VII. was crowned King of France on July 17, 1429. It was not six months since the Maid had begun her mission in earnest, and already it was accomplished.

It has been argued that from this time she knew that all was over, and regarded her work as done. There are many facts which prove the contrary. She took a house for herself at Orleans, hoping to live among the citizens who loved her and whom she loved. And still she remained active in the field. Honoured and fêted at court, she sighed for the camp. The people everywhere welcomed her and looked to her.

¹ T. Douglas Murray, *Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 263-4.

² Several books deal with her powers as a tactician and strategist. See the list in Chevalier, p. 13, n. 5.

She seemed to be leading the French to conquest upon conquest.

But at the height of her success her 'voice' told her that she would be taken prisoner before St. John Baptist's Day. So it came to pass. Compiègne was in danger: she must go to its help. 'J'irai voir mes bons amis de Compiègne,' she said: the words are cut upon the pedestal that supports the fine statue of her in the *place* to-day. There outside the walls, in little more than a chance affray, she was captured by the Burgundians. It was on May 23, 1430.

Her work was done, and a great work it was.

'Par la vaillance et l'ascendant de cette jeune fille, Charles VII. avait recouvré l'Orléannais, le Vendômois et le Dunois, une grande partie de la Champagne et de la Brie, le Châlonnais, le Rémois, le Valois, les comtés de Clermont et de Beauvais. A l'est du royaume, les victoires de Jeanne d'Arc avaient décidé René d'Anjou, héritier du duché de Bar, à rejeter la suzeraineté de Henry VI., et ainsi, entre Orléans et la Meuse, une vaste région soumise à Charles VII. s'interposait entre les domaines anglais et bourguignons. Tel était le résultat de treize mois de campagnes, qui avaient suivi sept années de défaites presque continuelles.'¹

The bitter story of the months that intervened between her capture and her death is told with astonishing force in the documents which Mr. Douglas Murray has selected and translated. From John of Luxembourg, her captor, she was bought by the Estates of Normandy, through Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais. He claimed jurisdiction over her as ordinary, and she was charged with sorcery and heresy. The University of Paris also claimed to try her; so perhaps did the Inquisition. Charles left her to her fate. At the end of December 1430, after months of imprisonment in city after city, Joan the Maid was taken to Rouen. But she was not placed in an ecclesiastical prison. She was left under guard of the English soldiery. Her trial began on February 20, 1431. At every point the process bristles with illegalities. Evidence that told in favour of the accused was ruthlessly suppressed. Cauchon played a part of which it is difficult to

¹ Petit-Dutaillis, in Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, iv. (5), 61.

exaggerate the villainy. He was determined that she should be condemned, and he procured the condemnation.

The report of the trial gives us details which can only be read with amazement. 'Every word spoken in court is duly and faithfully recorded, and this record formed the basis for the petition subsequently presented to the Pope by Jeanne's mother and brother when seeking amendment of Cauchon's judgment.' It is an absolutely true record, and it is perhaps the most complete, as it is certainly the most wonderful, picture of mediaeval life that we possess.

Joan had endeavoured to escape, and she had suffered severely in the attempt. When her wounds were healed she accepted the recovery as a sign of God's good pleasure, and went through the long agony of trial, the secret examination, and the public accusation with an extraordinary cheerfulness and hardihood. On every point she met her questioners triumphantly. Throughout she showed the spirit of a pure simple girl, of a saint, of a heroine, and the humour of a French peasant. From her position she never stirred.

'I came to the King of France from God, the Blessed Virgin, and all the saints of Paradise, from the Church triumphant in heaven, and by their command. To that Church alone I will submit all I have done and shall do.'

It was a fatal assertion. Her judges declared that she would not accept the judgment of the Church on earth as represented by themselves. It was certain that she would be condemned to death. Then at last, in the cemetery of Saint Ouen, after a sermon directed against her, her courage broke down. She who had met the most clever doctors in fence—who when asked if St. Michael was naked when she saw him, had answered, 'Do you think that God hath not wherewith to clothe him?'—who had replied when they asked her if she were in the grace of God, 'If I am not, may God place me there; if I am, may He keep me there'—who when asked what she thought of the Pope, and which she believed to be the true Pope, had answered, 'Are there two?'—she who at every point had met and baffled her accusers by sheer simplicity of soul, now failed, faltered, broke down, recanted.

'Ante finem sententiae, Johanna, timens ignem, dixit se velle obedire ecclesiae.' So says the Latin record.

What did she say when she recanted? What form of recantation did she sign? It is a question which has been long debated, and is still in debate. M. Chevalier has given to the subject a long study and an exhaustive examination, and we are disposed to accept his conclusions. They are these:

(1) The formula of abjuration inserted in the legal act of condemnation is not that which was read to the Maid and which she signed.

(2) The authentic formula did not constitute in the view of canon law an abjuration in regard to the faith.

(3) In making it, Joan did contradict and abandon her 'voices,' but her act lacked the essential conditions of knowledge and of will.

This decision, for which the evidence is ample, has made it possible to consider the beatification of the Maid of Orleans. If she had consciously denied a revelation of God, a beatification would of course have been impossible. But at least she submitted to the Church; she signed a paper which was accepted as an act of penance. What, then, was the consequence of the abjuration? For the moment at least it was impossible to condemn the penitent to death. She was therefore declared free from excommunication, and the Bishop of Beauvais concluded his 'definitive sentence' with the words:

'But because thou hast sinned rashly against God and Holy Church, We condemn thee, finally, definitely, and for salutary penance, saving Our grace and moderation, to perpetual imprisonment, with the bread of sorrow and the water of affliction, in order that thou mayest bewail thy faults, and that thou mayest commit no more acts which thou shalt have to bewail hereafter.'

This was on May 24. Joan was taken back to prison, dressed in woman's clothes, and refused the sight of any sympathising friends. Three days later the news was spread over Rouen that she had 'relapsed'—that she was again in man's clothes.

Here again there is much written in explanation, and the

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evidence is not absolutely conclusive. But we have little doubt that the facts are two : first, that Joan found it necessary to resume man's clothes to protect her honour from the rude soldiers who were her guards ; and, second, that she had now come to repent of her rejection of the ' voices,' that she was determined to return to her devotion to the inspiration which had led her to her great work. ' God has shown me,' she said, when she was questioned, ' by Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret, the great shame of the treason to which I made consent in making abjuration and revocation to save my life : *je me damnais pour sauver ma vie.*'

There can be no doubt that the ' relapse' was regarded as timely by Joan's enemies. The position of the English in France was daily becoming worse and worse : the Duke of Burgundy was a hesitating ally : a solemn execution of the sorceress might do much to turn the tide. When she relapsed she was lost beyond appeal. As he left her prison Cauchon laughed and said to Warwick, ' Farewell, farewell ; il en est fait. Faictes bonne chièr.' On the 29th an assembly of doctors formally declared her a lapsed heretic, and delivered her to the secular arm. Next morning at half-past six she was told that she was to be burnt ; and for the moment a spasm of terror and dismay passed over her—' *Atlas ! how horribly and cruelly they treat me, that my body, which I have never soiled, should to-day be burnt to ashes !*' But soon she recovered : ' I thank God to-day I shall be in Paradise.' She made her last confession, and, strangely enough, as it seems, she was allowed to communicate. She received her Lord with great devotion. Before nine o'clock she was led to the place of the old market in Rouen, near the Church of ' Saint Saviour,' and there, with every circumstance of barbarity, she was burnt alive. The horrors of the last hour were redeemed by the tears of the people, and even of some of the English soldiers, and by the heroic constancy of her faith. To the last she said, ' My voices have not deceived me,' and she called on her Saviour's Holy Name. A soldier had made a rough cross for her of two bits of wood, and a faithful Dominican held upright before her the crucifix as she prayed, ' till the moment of death, so that the Cross upon which God

was hanging might be in life continually before her eyes.' As she bent her head and died, she uttered for the last time the name of Jesus.

There is no more. The pathos of the story, as we read it in the narrative of those who stood by, is unapproachable. 'Alas! alas!' cried the people, as they went back sadly to their homes, 'it is a saint whom we have done to death!'

The rehabilitation came twenty years later. In 1450 the University of Paris began an investigation as to the justice of the trial. In 1452 Nicholas V. ordered an inquiry; moved, it is pitiful to remember, by the still living mother of the murdered girl. At last, in 1456, twenty-five years after her death, after the fullest investigation, the condemnation was 'quashed, annihilated, annulled,' and the sentence was published 'for the eternal honour of her name.'

Such is the story of the Maid of Orleans. Literature has never done justice to it. No one has risen to the height of the great theme. Schiller spoiled what his romantic spirit might have seen and achieved by turning her heroism into a love-story. Of that passion there is not the smallest evidence of her having felt a spark. She was wholly consecrated to God and to the deliverance of France. How Shakespeare—if it was indeed he—treated the war and the heroine we all know; but it is worth recalling, because it illustrates the feeling of Englishmen all through the Middle Ages. Joan was condemned as a witch and a heretic; England had nothing to do with her trial. It was conducted by French-speaking folk, and those ecclesiastics. Englishmen accepted the result; it had, at least, the merit of explaining their defeats, without injury to their national pride, as due to diabolic agency. Joan of Arc became in the popular mind an agent of Satan, just as Bonaparte, centuries after, was a convenient modern representative of the same power for the scaring of naughty children. Shakespeare took his view from Holinshed, in whose pages she appears as a mere impostor, and his contempt for her is shown by the rugged style in which he sets her speeches.

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To shine on my contemptible estate:

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Lo, whilst I waited on my tender lambs,
 And to sun's parching heat display'd my cheeks,
 God's mother deigned to appear to me,
 And, in a vision full of majesty,
 Will'd me to leave my base vocation,
 And free my country from calamity :
 Her aid she promis'd and assur'd success :
 In complete glory she reveal'd herself ;
 And, whereas I was black and swart before,
 With those clear rays which she infus'd on me
 That beauty am I bless'd with which you see.¹

Thus bad begins, but very much worse remains behind. For once Shakespeare, in taking the old play and the old history, took also the standard of their prejudice. His travesty of the Maid must be remembered only as a vivid presentation of national delusion ; Voltaire's only as a disgrace to the age and the people that could suffer it. Strange indeed that so pure and lofty a life should ever have been forgotten, tragic that it should have been befouled. But time's rehabilitation is complete. The pure heroic figure, whose saintliness matches her courage, stands out without fear and without reproach, the greatest heroine of France, and perhaps among the greatest, as certainly among the most beautiful, figures that the history of the world has to show.

To read again these old authentic documents is like wandering in a lost world. The children at Domrémy play round the sacred tree of pagan days, hanging their garlands ; the soldiers tramp through the streets with rough jests ; the priests and religious follow in sacred procession ; bishops dispute about strange popes ; kings tremble in their palaces at the shock of arms : and out of all comes the simple figure of a pure maid, dressed in harness of war, with banner of saints flying above her head, with crucifix and little axe in her hands, going forth under the blessing of God to free her country from the foreign foe. Every hour she is lifting up her heart to God, while she is doing deeds of valour and wisdom which man might do and did not. Then a cloud covers her, she is smitten of God and rejected, and she is

¹ *King Henry VI.*, Part i. act i. sc. 2.

brought to death as an outcast from His peace. But her faith endures; she follows in the way which He has trod. And so, when Time's revenge is taken, her fame is immortal: she is great among the heroes who have made the history of the world.

ART. VII.—SOME NOTES ON THE CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA.

1. *Augustus Short, First Bishop of Adelaide.* By Archdeacon F. T. WHITINGTON. (London: Wells Gardner and Co.)
2. *Report of the Adelaide Church Congress, 1902.* Edited by Archdeacon F. W. SAMWELL. (Adelaide: Church Office.)
3. *Year-Books of Church of England in the Diocese of Adelaide, 1896-1902.* (Adelaide: Church Office.)

THE Archbishop of Sydney took occasion some few years since to pay a patriarchal visit to his brother of Perth. Now the Bishop of West Australia has a diocese which stretches three or four thousand miles, but he thought proper to turn back from a confirmation tour to meet his Primate at Albany. Camels, buggies, freight trains, coaches, brought him through dust and heat in time to welcome the liner from Sydney; and when the Primate began with aplomb, 'Well, Bishop, you see I've come two thousand miles to see you!' he could answer with feeling, 'Yes, Primate, and I've travelled three thousand miles in my own diocese to meet *you*!' This is the first thing which must in some sort be realized before the conditions of Church work in Australia are understandable—the immense distances, and then the exceeding sparseness of the population. The whole population of the continent is under five millions, less than that of London. The seaboard alone is inhabited, the huge centre being largely unexplored, a wilderness of sand. Kalgurli and the West Australian goldfields, like Ballarat, Broomhill, or Mount Morgan thirty

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years ago, have only sprung into wealth and importance in the present decade. Remember that in the four and a half millions there are intermixed Germans, Poles, Chinese, Afghans, Kanakas, Japanese, Javanese, aboriginals; Roman Catholic Irish and Presbyterian Scotch, Russian Greeks, Teuton Lutherans and Moravians. Recollect that, of the now Federated States, South Australia was founded sixty years ago as an avowed Congregational settlement, in which Churchmanship was a distinct bar to material prosperity. Remember that State aid and State endowment have been practically inoperative for years, some grants having been resumed, while others will fall in on the death of the present occupier. Remember the distance from home, the size of the venture, the elements of the population; and the situation which the Church has faced is certainly unique, the lessons it has learnt should be valuable.

Australia (with Tasmania) has now eighteen dioceses, one Archbishop, and eighteen Bishops working. The Bishops of Melbourne and Brisbane will within a few years assume the style of Archbishop, each of them having at least two suffragans or actually provincial Bishops. There are about seven hundred ordained clergy, and probably five times as many licensed lay readers—mostly unpaid—and five respectable cathedrals. It is something to have achieved in much less than a century so huge an extension of the work which Archdeacon Broughton began when all Australia was only part of the archdeaconry of Calcutta.

There are problems in the Church at home—questions of Church discipline, clergy pensions, synodical representation, clerical poverty, among others—which seem to be better managed in the new world. It is not suggested that the Church in England could be improved by disestablishment, whatever may be thought of disendowment, nor that what Australia, free from traditional trammels, has been able to write on a clean sheet can be copied easily in England. It is contended that the lines on which the Church in Australia has built up its discipline and polity would be useful helps to ecclesiastics at home, who know well their difficulties but cannot see the way through them.

Possibly the first thing that would strike an English-bred clergyman on taking up work in an Australian parish would be the amount of work he was expected to get through on Sunday. He has been used at home, in a town parish, to preach once, and help in the other services and classes. He finds, if his lot falls in a country district, that he must celebrate possibly twice and preach possibly four times, while travelling anything from thirty to sixty miles in a buggy or on horseback. The same sermon of course would do, but all preachers know that repetition is far more tiring to themselves than the audience. In a town parish he may have to celebrate twice (one Sunday in the month) and preach three times to congregations not exactly the same, but not entirely different, in addition to keeping up all the usual machinery of a parish. Neither must he shirk preparation for his sermons. He must be in touch with the questions of the day. Australians are not deeply read, but they are instructed and as well informed as magazines and newspapers can make them in Imperial problems. The present writer remembers the surprise he felt at seeing the stationmaster of a small up-country hamlet reading the last number of the *Nineteenth Century*, and anxious to discuss its views. Your newly-arrived parson therefore recognizes very speedily that he cannot preach his old written discourses, that he must be fresh and crisp and up to date; and he soon determines that an English clergyman's Sunday is play compared with his own. In summer he does his journey with the heat occasionally at 110° or 115° in the shade. His house has been too hot to sleep in, the church is like an oven, and the conditions generally are enough to bring out grit.¹ However,

¹ The following is the list of services, with distances, taken on Easter Sunday by a priest in charge of a country district ten miles from Adelaide: 5.30 A.M. Drive eight miles for celebration in mission church. 6.45 A.M. Return four miles for second celebration in mission church. 8 A.M. Return four miles for third celebration in parish church. 9.30 A.M. Drive twelve miles to celebration in mission church No. 3. 11 A.M. Celebration and sermon in parish church. 3 P.M. Drive fourteen miles, Evensong in mission church No. 4. 6 P.M. Baptisms in parish church. 6.30 P.M. Evensong and sermon in parish church. Fifty-four miles in all. This of course is an exceptional Sunday's work; but there are plenty of clergy

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he finds with astonishment that whereas he was nobody in particular in England, he is a personage in the colonies. It is true that he meets with little of the deference paid to well-established vicars at home, but he is a fresh arrival. The chance will come at once almost of making his mark. He will be asked to preach in the cathedral, and invited to all the festivals in the city. The professional sermon-tasters will sample him, if for nothing else that they may be qualified to appraise him. The leaders of society make particular bids for his patronage while he is a bachelor. Indeed the young English clergyman runs many chances of being spoilt during his first two years in Australian capitals.

All this is only surprising until the narrowness of life and the paucity of intellectual surroundings are remembered. Here you have a people who, to quote the ex-Bishop of Ballarat, are 'nimble-witted,' if occasionally shallow, who have no solid education, no leisured or properly cultured classes, no taste at present for real learning; but who are in the movement of the world, who take, for instance, infinitely greater interest in imperial questions than men of their own social standing in England, and in point of fact hear the news nine hours before them; who are proud of their own material progress, with good reason, delicately sensitive to criticism, knowing all the time that they cannot yet produce a first-class article of any kind, unless it be a horse. What wonder if they look to the home-taught University man to give them better than ordinary spiritual food! What wonder if any clergyman who has the interests of Church or Empire at heart insists, in season and out of season, that the ablest of our young clergy ought to give themselves to the moulding of this virile young community!

And when the English clergyman is no longer a 'new chum,' when he has settled down to serving his five country churches each ten miles distant from the next, he remembers with a certain scorn the easy Sundays of England. He finds that a congregation of real Church people can be kept

who do not less than forty miles every Sunday in the year. And there are a sufficiency of instances where ninety miles is covered, and four services taken in the day.

together by a lay reader who in his absence reads the service and an approved printed sermon. He reads in the Church papers of the appalling poverty of rural clergy in England, and he asks why should not country parishes, within a few miles of one another, be united into one cure to make a living wage for the priest. He wonders whether for many reasons it would not be an advantage to license more laymen as perpetual sub-deacons. He hears it said that the English clergy are afraid of their Protestant laity, and his answer is that the way to lead the laity is to give them work. The principle on which work of any kind in the new world is carried on is to follow a leader, and if the clergy cannot lead by their personal influence they are left. He remembers the force of tradition in the old world, the atmosphere of gentility into which ordination is assumed to lift the English ordinand. He may miss some of that polish in colonial clergy. But it strikes him as good common-sense that a man should be well paid for honest work—as Australians demand—and he begins to wonder whether the official status of English clergymen may not be dearly bought at the price of enforced penury. Colonial experience brings out nothing more clearly than the harm which endowments have done to the Church in allowing congregations to forget the privilege given them of supporting their priest. Is it business-like, is it faithful rendering of the Catholic truth, to omit St. Paul's injunction that they who preach the Gospel shall live of the Gospel? Where there are few endowments, and those painfully acquired in quite recent times, this is taught and cheerfully recognized. Nowhere in the world probably is there more regular generous systematic giving to church and clergymen than in Australia. An instance could be quoted of a small country town, 300 miles from Adelaide, where, for many years past, the contributions to the Church have averaged more than ten shillings per head of the population (not the Church people only) without one single large donation. Indeed, within two generations, speaking generally, churches and schools and parsonages have been built and paid for.

Here there are few clergy with private means. Endowments rarely amount to more than the interest on 500*l.*, a

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parsonage, and a few barren acres of glebe. Yet the clergy throughout Australia appear to be paid about a third more than the English average. Stipends are made up from seat-rents (very few churches, unfortunately, are free and open), stipend funds, and offertories. Marriage fees in some dioceses are a great help—the statutory fee in South Australia fixed by the Government being 4*l*. Money has, of course, to be raised in a host of various ways—strawberry fêtes, socials, dances, teas, bazaars; but the feeling that direct giving (the envelope system) is at once the most business-like and Biblical is growing fast. Towards the building of a parsonage 200*l*. is given, when 600*l*. has been locally raised, from the central funds of the diocese. Clergy, whether they like it or not, must perforce spend much energy in raising their necessary funds; their financial position depends very largely on their own efforts. It does not, however, follow that any clergyman can become a mere money-raising machine. Australian laymen are not laggards in judging character. They love, it is true, to add brick to brick, and love to have their ears tickled by crisp oratory; but they well understand the value of unobtrusive work, though they may prefer the more showy sort. Support will be given generously to the preacher or the diligent visitor or the able organiser, but some kind of excellence must be shown. One telling advantage of the voluntary system certainly is that the impossible priest is eliminated. He is simply left alone. He has nothing to give and therefore nothing to get. On the other hand, Australian congregations are particularly generous to ministers whom they regard. Instances many could be given of clergy being given a year's holiday in Europe, a first-class return ticket, and a couple of hundred pounds in their pocket. This, let it be understood, is when the personality and character have been appreciated. And in another respect the Australian clergy consider themselves blessed. They read in English Church papers wearisome complaints of institution or dilapidation fees, and rejoice that they pay 10*s*. when they are licensed, 10*s*. when inducted to a sole cure, are every one of them without fee surrogates, and can leave the maintenance of the rectory to the wardens.

The system of clerical assurance is eminently worthy of imitation. There is no Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, there are no village cures with light work and adequate emolument to which men who have passed their prime can be retired. There is, however, in this new land a quite striking willingness to dispense with any man—civil servant or politician or clergyman—when his best days are behind him. A clergy annuity fund attempts in most dioceses to meet the need. Twenty years ago in Adelaide a fund was started. Every clergyman holding the Bishop's licence pays an annual subscription of two guineas. Every church of standing gives an annual offertory. Some private donations were given at first, and for some years there were no payments to be made. In no other diocese in Australia is the subscription so low, and it ought indeed to be raised at once if the fund is to remain in a sound actuarial condition. None the less, it was able in 1902 to divide 450*l.* a year between five annuitants in proportion to their term of service. One of them even received for some years an annuity of 200*l.* In the same diocese the Clergy Widow and Orphan Fund is in a still stronger position. It offers remarkable insuring opportunities. A capital fund of 15,000*l.* has been raised since 1864, partly by private benefactions and subscriptions, partly by donations from the central funds of the diocese. It is not compulsory. The premium is settled according to the age of the joining member. When he marries it is doubled. When he leaves the diocese (unless he has held a licence for fifteen years) half his premiums are returned, and he must cease to be a member. Every church gives an annual offertory. The premium of a married man joining at the age of thirty-two is 5*l.* 5*s.* The total income last year was 1110*l.*; the number of widows annuitant ten, each of them in receipt of 55*l.* annually for life. These, it will be seen at once, are infinitely better terms for the premium paid than any insurance society could give. It could not, of course, be done without the help of the offertories and donations. Very possibly in the near future the premiums will have to be raised or the annuities reduced. But again it is a clear instance of common-sense facing of difficulties. We can imagine that many home

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bishops would welcome any similar means of inducing their clergy to insure or resign.

If the severity of his Sunday work impresses and invigorates the newly-arrived home-bred priest, very much more will his independence and isolation startle him. Up-country he will not see another clergyman for perhaps three months at a time. His archdeacon is a parish priest, possibly living three hundred miles away, who makes a visitation once in five years and invites his clergy to an annual conference. His bishop travels round once in two years, perhaps, for confirmation. There are no men of culture in his district. The sheep and cattle stations are managed for absentee owners who live in England or Sydney. He looks in vain for guidance from any clerical superior. He must make out from the look of his church the kind of service usual. He must find the names and characters of his parishioners by personal inquiry—from themselves. His first appearance and pronouncements will probably be long remembered—it behoves him to make a good first impression. Possibly it will be found that no one knows anything about the trust deeds, whose provisions are often a complete dead letter.

Fifty years ago, for instance, pew rents and sacramental offerings were usually apportioned to the rector, while land was specially given for a Church school. The new rector is lucky if he does not find that no school has ever been built, and that his wardens simply vote him at Easter Vestry that which they think fit. But when he begins work his hands are absolutely free. He can do what he likes, so long as he carries his people with him. He will not be hampered by episcopal advice, restrained by Public Worship Regulation Acts, or delayed by need for faculties. The Litany and Quicunque may be omitted from one year's end to another without objection raised. Not a few there are who choose at their will proper lessons for Sunday reading. Let him be a successful or taking preacher—let him boldly show small respect for traditional doctrine—and he may empty for a time some of the dissenting chapels. For rare is the up-country township which besides its Anglican church has not—to serve a population of 500 souls—three or four other

'worship sheds,' Roman, Baptist, Methodist, Congregational, Salvation Army.¹

And so he must learn to make prompt decisions on the spur of the moment, to devise special services, and assume authority. He must learn to saddle his own horse and feed it, wash his own buggy and grease it. In the extreme heat, when the thermometer mounts up to 115° in the shade, he is glad to wear white drill suits and nothing clerical but a collar. It is all picturesque and romantic and new. But when the novelty has worn off, the sense of isolation is depressing. He begins to wish he had a rector to lean upon. Acquaintances are good fellows, but eminently laymen. The atmosphere is least of all ecclesiastical. Temptations to loose living in the matter of cards and drinking and horse-racing are far greater than an ordinary Englishman can even imagine. On his rounds he must most frequently stay at the hotel (where usually he is charged nothing), and for the sake of his work he must manifest no aloofness. Recognizing this, Bishop Westcott discouraged the sending of men up-country in the colonies except in pairs, and the Longreach Brotherhood has been the result. For in isolation the very recital of daily offices becomes irksome when you can rarely say them in church or with another priest. Much more does theological reading end in the fortnightly perusal of a third-rate Church paper. The missionary on the Murray River has a parish 600 miles long from end to end. He works his way up in a small steamer, taking six weeks each way. Besides services at forty or fifty centres, marriages, classes, and visiting, he dispenses clothing and medicine to the ill-fated dwellers in the Murray village settlements. His crew is one engineer, who is also cook, valet, navigator, and fireman. Their fuel is found ready chopped into logs on the bank at certain spots, but they must put it aboard themselves; often kill their own dinner, and always cook it. One of them must always be at the rudder, so that many addresses are

¹ A hamlet centre of a farming district, 250 miles from Adelaide, supports thirty places of worship—six Anglican, eight ministers and priests (one Anglican) resident, and six more overlapping from other districts. Population, 1,500.

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prepared, as the chapters of the Bible were divided, *inter navigandum*. And though there is much human interest and much wild roughness in this kind of life, the apartness and isolation are a real danger.

This is where the great use of Synods first appears. Augustus Short, first Bishop of Adelaide, reintroduced the catholic primitive practice into the new world—not without opposition, not without suggestion from governors that danger lurked in the revival. He persisted, and his pioneer efforts were copied in New Zealand and all Australasia. The annual meeting of every priest and deacon in the diocese under the presidency of the Bishop is, apart from its deliberative value, a most salutary change to the far-scattered country clergy. Lay synodsmen from every parish are summoned also. Exemption from attendance is rarely sought except in case of sickness. For the Church people of the capital recognize their duty of making the week in town pleasant for the visitors. Synod gives them a united service with an episcopal charge in cathedral, opportunity of meeting brother priests from every part of the State, of learning to know all the most active laymen, of bringing forward criticism of diocesan management or suggestions for united action. At one Synod the basis of representation may be altered. In Adelaide two years ago, after much debating, arguing, amending, the system was carried which is known as the 'communicant basis.' Parishes which can certify 149 communicants (the word to mean one who has communicated three times during the year last past) have three synodsmen; ten communicants entitle to one, forty-nine to two synodsmen.

Or, as at Sydney last year—where party lines are unfortunately very clear cut—he may vote on a distinct proposal to censure an archbishop for sending the elements from his cathedral altar to a dean dying in the Close. In Adelaide, thirty years ago, he might have opposed a motion which demanded of the bishop that he should revoke the licences of two priests who used altar lights and weekly eucharists. One of them is now an archdeacon, the other canon missionary. Rarely will he fail to get some amusement

and instruction out of Synod, and always it will bring home to him—as nothing is more needed—that in vast, sparsely populated, Australia there is a body, the Church, and that it is working. This is some set-off to the loneliness of his country cure. It usually comforts a man to be at least one Sunday away from his parishes, and the greater freshness thus given to work seemed to Bishop Montgomery in Tasmania important enough to warrant him summoning a Synod to last over Sunday in Hobart. In the same spirit the Adelaide Synod passed a resolution—which may be commended to the vicars of East London—that every clergyman is entitled to three consecutive Sundays' holiday in the year, during which the wardens are to pay, if necessary, for the services being taken. This is pasted in the fly-leaf of every well-arranged vestry-book in the diocese. Here is another occasion when the licensed layman is so valuable.

In ecclesiastical economy diocesan Synods merge into provincial. At present there is (until Melbourne and Brisbane become archbishoprics) only one established Province, comprising the dioceses of Sydney, Goulburn, Newcastle, Riverina, and Grafton and Armidale. This part of the framework of the Church in Australia has not yet exercised much influence, being overshadowed by the importance of General Synod.

General Synod consists of all the Bishops, with elected priests and laymen from every diocese in Australia and Tasmania. It meets once in five years. Its deliberations are carried on in one room—bishop, priest, or layman taking his turn of speaking to the motion. The Bishops, however, sit on a dais, and vote by themselves. Clergy and laity vote together unless a vote by orders is called for. The number of representatives is decided on the ratio of clergy holding the bishop's licence, and twice as many laymen as clergy are sent. Thus Adelaide, with ninety licensed clergy, sends six clerical and twelve lay representatives; Sydney, with 180 clergy, sends in the same proportion. The train fare of representatives is paid from diocesan funds, so that election to represent partakes of the nature of a prize.

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'back blocks,' who has almost forgotten the prestige attaching to the Church in England by reason of the levelling toleration allowed to all forms of belief, the meeting of General Synod is an eloquent sight. The Bishops are in their doctor's robes, the laymen are many of them members of Parliament, the speaking is by no means of a low order. Two hundred Churchmen, who have first attended a corporate communion in St. Andrew's Cathedral, discuss questions of great moment for the young Church. It is true that they have no legislative power. Their resolutions are not more than 'recommendations' which Diocesan Synods may make law or decline. Yet it is more than a debating society. It represents, roughly, the Church voice of the continent. It sent out the mission to New Guinea in the name of the Communion in Australia. It discussed in 1900 that very pregnant question of the best name for the Church in these lands—the title 'Church of England in Australia and Tasmania' being confessedly cumbrous and insufficient. It determined that for the future the Primate of Australia might be elected by the bishops from the occupants of the sees of Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane. Australia had groaned for long years under the law which enabled the Sydney Synod, in electing their Bishop, to impose a Primate by the same act on the whole country. Its proceedings are reported at full length in the press throughout the States, by specially retained correspondents. For when the Bishop of Manchester was at Melbourne his was by far the weightiest voice in Australia, and it is probably true to-day that General Synod contains more debating power and eloquence than the Federal Parliament. By force of circumstances the Church in Australia has succeeded in using its laymen more effectually than the Church at home. The contrast between this assembly and the Lower House of Convocation for the Province of Canterbury is striking enough. At the meeting of that House in February last, when the Kenyon-Slaney clause was being discussed, some fifty reverend gentlemen were representing how many millions of Church people? There were three men and two women listening to the debate, which was polished and tame and unexciting. It

was as crucial a point as is likely to be discussed for a generation, and the deliberations were scarcely noticed by the daily press. Is the true organ for reflecting the opinions of Church people in England to be found in a reformed Convocation, or in a General Synod which shall step into its place? It seems strange that Australian methods have not, at least with some modifications, been tried.

It may be asked—Whence does the Synod in a diocese derive its authority? How can it be anything more than an annual meeting of Churchmen for discussion and worship? To begin with, it elects the Bishop, or decides to delegate the election. It could depose him if necessary. The Bishop, as President of Synod, helps to draw up the fundamental provisions which enact how he can be deposed. It decides who shall be custodians of the Synod seal, without which no sale or lease of Church property can be effected. It appoints the representatives to General Synod, the committees for managing annuity and orphan funds, for carrying on Church schools and cemeteries, for distributing grants-in-aid, and grants to parsonages, and grants to endowment. Finance looms large in the Colonial diocese—it must be so when progress is continually dependent on power to build a new church or send a new man. Budding lawyers therefore find a large field in exploiting Church funds. Their Churchmanship may be less impressive than their 'push,' but they must be Synodsmen before they can get on to the committees. Practically it is Synod which decides whether a mission church shall have its grant, a retiring priest his annuity, and whether a poor congregation shall be excused its assessment. Every parish, therefore, is anxious to be represented in the Church Parliament. But this is only allowed to those churches which, besides having four annual offertories (Clergy Annuities, Clergy Widow and Orphan, Home Missions, and Foreign Missions) for extra-parochial objects, have also paid an assessment (*7d.* in the *£* on all receipts) to the Church office. This regulation may not be common to all dioceses. There are some, alas! even yet where no Foreign Mission collection is inevitably made. But it is a strong lever for raising the sense of responsibility. The cause of missions is kept more vividly

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alive when every year a report is rendered of the amount of money raised to the assembled heads of 200 parishes, and a discussion ensues as to the best way of apportioning it.

It is Synod which appoints the assessors who will try any priest accused of heresy or immorality. What a boon would the following condition, annexed to induction in the diocese of Adelaide, be to many an English Bishop! Every incumbent signs it:

'I do hereby engage to give up to the Trustees, on demand of the Bishop or Trustees, possession of all the real and personal estate and effects which I may hold or be entitled to by virtue of my office, at the time if and when sentenced, according to the fundamental provisions of the diocese, to deprivation or suspension: and in order to give effect to such sentence I declare that I hold possession of the temporalities above mentioned, real and personal estate and effects, as tenant-at-will of the ordinary for the time being, in case such emergency should arise; and that I will in all other respects conform to and abide by the said provisions.'

The drawing up of constitution and enactments has taken much time in earlier years. The business of Synod is very legal and financial. Its procedure is that of the House of Assembly, which is modelled on the House of Commons. And there are not wanting those who maintain that such technical matters are best entirely left to lawyers and financiers. It happens that English instinct decides otherwise, and feels that even the 'spiritual person' is better for being compelled to give a vote and listen to debates about matters on which he has not specialized. Undoubtedly it is also found, as is not unheard-of in the Roman Curia, that clergy, not conspicuous for devotion to their parishes or scholarship, are considerable personages in a Church Parliament. A certain skill in debate and a facility for grasping the rules of procedure weigh heavily. And, in fact, Synod sometimes strikes one as a special field for developing those business qualities which are apt to be considered incompatible with refined feeling or priestly tenderness. But, with whatever blemishes, the primitive Catholic practice has been fully restored in democratic completeness, and every Churchman

and Churchwoman has a voice in the management of Church affairs.

Australia is a paradise for the religious quack. Sects almost unheard-of in old lands are prominent here. All are on nominal equality with the Church. Within the last five years most of the subsections of Methodism have coalesced. It says much for Australian common-sense that bodies which had been fighting on points of doctrine and discipline for one hundred years suddenly discovered that the only thing which kept them apart was finance. Now they are one with themselves, and one with Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Unitarians, in opposition to the Church and to Rome. Enterprising where the Church has been slow, active where we have been inert, they have again and again captured districts merely by being first in the field or by captivating the fancy of a young people which loves large buildings, even if not paid for. There are few things sadder to an English clergyman than to note how easily the ordinary immigrant, who was attending Church at home, is seduced by the sectary in new countries. Is it because the backbone of the Faith has not been taught? or does it point to the necessity of simplifying our Church services or to the need of greater enterprise, and employment of lay workers? There is probably something in the climate which makes for throwing off restraint, for certainly the native-born Roman is much less amenable to discipline than his Irish brother; the carefully instructed Lutheran easily becomes an Anglican, the strict Presbyterian welcomes the ritual and the order of the Church. But Seventh-Day Adventists, American Evangelistic Churches of Christ, Faith Healers, and Christian Scientists abound. The prevailing attitude of mind—healthy in some respects—is to take nothing for granted because it has been handed down. Probably not more than half the whole population has ever been baptized. The utility of a custom must be made patent before it is accepted. 'Sic volo, sic jubeo' is nowhere so nugatory as here, but in few places, probably, are men so thorough when convinced. A Church which only seats 330 has over 200 communicants on Easter Day. A commercial man who has

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heard a sermon on Holy Baptism brings five children next day to be baptized. A young priest goes to a new parish, and has one hundred in his confirmation classes within three months. These are all real instances. Can English readers understand how one longs for reinforcements to the staff to reap in this harvest? They must be strong men, bold enough to burn their ships behind them, and for material support they need have no shadow of fear.

For the absence of respect for tradition Australian politicians are largely to be blamed. The teaching of history has been shamefully neglected in the past, as of course has the history of the Christian Church and the Bible. It has sometimes seemed as though, for the ordinary State-taught Australian, history began in the early part of last century. A combination of lower middle-class dissenting blood, a shallow utilitarian education closed at fourteen, a sun-bathed but semi-toned landscape, innocent of any landmarks of the past, have produced a new thing of its kind, an intellect keen, alert, shallow, said to be wanting in sense of humour, hungrily seeking excitement. Add to this, general wealth far surpassing per head of population any country in the world—wealth even among the labouring classes easily won, among the squatters doubling itself with unimagined rapidity. The hours of work shorter, the wages higher, the holidays more frequent than elsewhere. Every second man in the towns owns his house, and a garden in which if he chose he could grow fruit and vegetables to supply the household. Every fourth man owns a buggy and ponies. In the times of worst drought, when settlers up-country are starving on bread made of bran, theatres, race-meetings, football matches, are as fully attended as ever. The offertory in the churches hardly varies, and whereas in England of 10*l.* collected on Sunday 6*l.* would probably be copper, in Australia possibly 3*s.* might. And this may in some sort indicate the difference in generosity and wealth and attendance, for the English Church would probably hold 1200 people and the Australian 300.

It is part of the creed preached by the Australian press to decry any connexion between Church and State, and to

laugh at the Bishops having a seat in the Upper House. The popular vogue is to abuse the English aristocracy as a race of spendthrift ne'er-do-wells, and to welcome any attack made by Nonconformists or Radicals on the Church; for similar reasons to sympathize with Home Rule in Ireland—though here the Roman influence has much to answer for—to jeer at the discipline of the English Army and applaud licence—mistaken for liberty—in every possible way. All this, not because Australia knows anything about the English aristocracy or the working of the Church in England, but because until quite recently it felt itself unknown and was indignant. It knew itself potentially very rich and important, without being so recognized. This attitude, begotten in the first place by the hatred of convicts for the land which had exiled them, often doubtless for insufficient reason, was accentuated by the *odium theologicum* which had prompted many to seek ecclesiastical freedom. And while much of this feeling is being considerably modified by gradually improving education, greater facilities for travel, the visits of cricketing teams, and the burst of loyalty which sent away the contingents to South Africa, it must not be supposed that the instinct of the country has been radically changed or can ever be English in the old sense.

Yet out of all emerges the growing conviction that Anglican doctrines, discipline, and clergy are on the whole the sanest. Cardinal Moran might make the same claim for Ultramontaniam. But statistics would be against him, as published in the last census reports. Certainly it is true that in Adelaide and Melbourne the largest sums of money given for the building of the Cathedral have come from Presbyterians and others, not Churchmen, on the avowed ground that the Church alone can suitably manage a central official temple. Without a dissentient voice being heard, the memorial tablets to the fallen in the war were unveiled in the English Cathedral. At church parades of the military, when not a quarter of the men are nominally in the Church, less than a tenth ever choose to attend the Roman or Wesleyan services. In a sense therefore the Church is 'established.' Not in the technical sense, as perhaps it may be wise that it never shall.

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But it is completely free to work out its destiny with equal chances, and by the free comparison of results it is not unable to maintain its position. Just as in early English history the Church produced the State, so in Australia General Synod anticipated by twenty years and marked the lines on which Federal Parliament could be summoned.

It is sufficiently well known that the general Church tone in Australia is what is called 'low'; certainly not in any way advanced. The Catholic Revival might never have reached this continent—where there is not a single attempt at incense, where the recital of daily offices publicly is a custom much more honoured in the breach than in the observance, where a daily Eucharist is unheard-of, where, none the less—as is said to be the case also in up-country districts of Africa—nominal Churchmen are more apt to be regular communicants than in England. This is partly the result of competition between equal sects. In a district of 20,000 people in the suburbs of Adelaide there are three Anglican churches and nineteen chapels of various denominations, half of them larger than and as well filled as the churches. The Churchman is inevitably driven to consider what are the characteristic teachings of his communion, and to accept them. In Victoria and New South Wales the bitterness of Orange and Green lodges is added to the rancour which separates moderate Churchmen from ultra-Protestants. Curiously enough, where there has been least State assistance, and where the Church is poorest in money and richest in cultured men—in South Australia—the current teaching and ritual are most Catholic, and there is a minimum of friction between Romans and Catholics or between Evangelicals and Catholics.

In one respect an Australian parish is a positive pleasure to work. The readiness of the lay women and men to organize treats, socials, teas, is phenomenal. The priest need have no worry at all about these most harassing functions. The ladies are nearly all accustomed to do most, if not all, of their housework; they commonly keep not more than one servant, and they cook, arrange, decorate, beg provisions with infinite zeal. It is not easy to make congregations quite homo-

geneous, but when this is achieved anything in the world can be done. For it is not correct to speak of parishes, though the districts are marked off geographically. In the towns each man attracts his own hearers. The advent of a new minister—after probably some stormy meetings of Vestry and Patronage Committee—is usually the signal for a complete change of Church workers. One recalcitrant choirman or Sunday-school teacher draws all the rest after him. There is not therefore any ready willingness to unite several districts under a rector with a staff of assistants. Though this is the only way properly to work growing suburbs and to solidify Church feeling, it goes under before the desire to own a local priest and frequently instruct him. It is the preacher who fills the House of God. Yet it must not be supposed that regard is not paid to the service. Music of a sort is taught to every second child, and practised by the majority. St. Peter's, Adelaide, or St. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne, is not far behind the best Oxford chapels in point of musical excellence. And many suburban services are fully equal to that of the ordinary English country town. Yet with much general addiction to harmonized confessions, choral celebrations, and coloured stoles, to the observance of Advent, Lent, and the great festivals the prayer-desk constantly faces the people. Saints' days are often entirely disregarded, and the priest the nominee of the trustees and ruled from the pew.

Long years must pass before the Catechism is faithfully taught. The teaching of the ordinary Sunday-school teacher is colossally inadequate, and if it was allowed it would be impossible for the over-burdened clergy to work properly in the State schools. Church schools have a terrible battle to fight for existence, unless, after the fashion of grammar schools, they have been endowed. In the meantime it is impossible to overstate the disastrous lack of religious knowledge among children. Again and again a Chief Justice is heard to bewail ignorance, in twelve-year-old boys, of the very name of God. A magistrate reports from up-country that cases of girls becoming mothers at fifteen are horribly common, the mothers themselves no whit cleaner, while Sunday-schools are of no use, and divorce is becoming more

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common every year. The proportion of lunatics to population is unapproached in Christendom. The factitious methods of preventing reproduction, practised by all classes, are the most serious economic evil of all. Leading men begin now to put down these blemishes to want of early religious training, yet the Church has done culpably little to establish schools. The Romans, with customary wisdom, have many, and oppose the teaching of religion by the State or its officers. Till quite recently the Nonconformists have also opposed, but for other reasons. They know themselves unable to teach, and wish to prevent the Church increasing her influence. The movement of thought is in the direction of allowing all children in public schools to be taught during school hours by the minister their parents shall choose. This is the system of New South Wales, and it answers well. But the Church, if she had kept to a distinct plan, and all the divines had pulled together, could have mastered the situation and dictated the policy. She needs a commanding, determined mind to inspire and lead her. She needs the dogged patience of Rome to plan and to wait. She needs the enthusiasm of the so-called 'free churches' to inspire more aggressive missionary enterprise. Alone of religious bodies, she has no general secretary of missions to consolidate and organize effort. In finance she can neither extort money by threats of Purgatory, nor extract it by Wesleyan trade fellowship. She lacks authority and she lacks sympathy. Worst of all, she is not the Church of the people. Her very name is against her—her learning, her social position, her antiquity, the uncomprehended beauty of her liturgy, are all against her. Few are her Houses of God which have been built with a view to accommodating those who ought to worship with her. Little care has been taken to provide for those who cannot pay pew rents, and will not spare much in support of religion. Small chance, therefore, has been given of rendering in due reverence and proper solemnity the most congregational liturgy existing.

Yet the dioceses are as ably manned as at home. Not with as brilliant preaching power or scholarship, but with quite equal devotion, and a practical absence of utter inability. The native-born clergy are perhaps more distinguished for

readiness to speak than willingness to learn, while imported University men take some time to adapt themselves to the conditions. The foreign service movement does something to stiffen the ranks, not without arousing jealousy at times. And the English-taught parson will be needed for some years yet; for the rich man who thinks of influencing his son in the direction of Holy Orders is indeed a *rara avis* in the land of black swans. The career of the pressman, the engineer, the mining expert, the farmer, the politician, offers far greater attractions to the man of moderate means. And yet, professions being almost as crowded as at home, an Australian priest with any power is sure of being offered a sole cure in less than three years. If 300*l.* has been spent on his education, he can, in a monetary sense, get as much return for it as the Oxford graduate upon whom 1,000*l.* has been spent. He may be more useful.

Finally, one would wish to remind leaders of thought at home that Australia is in a quasi-missionary stage, and needs all the best of English self-sacrifice to make her and keep her Christian. The work is pioneering even in the large towns, and there is an amazing abundance of it. No man need languish for lack of opportunity to prove his mettle. Nowhere could readier response to single-minded effort be found. There are singular trials, physical and spiritual, to be borne. Famous English preachers might do much to increase their experience and heighten the prestige of the Church by consenting to visit this land. Though all expenses would be paid, it is almost impossible to secure a visit from them. While the stars of all the sects tour brilliantly through the States, the English clergyman must tell his people that the Church has far greater orators than these at home—only they will not come. And so, shut off from preferment, from ideal country parsonages in the home counties, and cultured society, he finds charm in varied experience, in the study of ecclesiastical evolution, in the conscious moulding of a young and plastic public opinion. But the Church is to him the Hope of the Ages, and he longs to see its extreme borders in nearer, more sympathetic touch. He believes that the old world can learn something from the new.

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ART. VIII.—THE IMPERIALISM OF DANTE.

1. *Recent Translations of Dante. Divina Commedia*, Italian and English: *Inferno*, by CARLYLE; *Purgatorio*, by OKEY; *Paradiso*, by WICKSTEED. Temple Classics. (London: Dent and Co., 1899-1901.)
2. *Dante*. By J. E. G. GARDNER. Temple Primers. (London: Dent and Co., 1900.)
3. *The Divine Comedy*. By C. E. NORTON. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1891.)

'THE central man of all the world,' says John Ruskin in *The Stones of Venice*, 'as representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral, and intellectual faculties all at their highest, is Dante.' While in his ideal dreams of a regenerated world, in his deep searchings into the hidden meanings of life, he is pre-eminently the poet seer, fulfilling accurately Wordsworth's definition of a poet as one who is 'endowed with more lively sensibility, more enthusiasm and tenderness, who has a greater knowledge of human nature and a more comprehensive soul than are supposed to be common among mankind,' yet he was not a poet only. In fact, as a recent writer has pointed out,¹ Dante as a poet is sometimes forgotten in his other claims to our attention. Dean Church calls him 'an all-surveying, all-embracing mind.' 'Most excellent scholar in every kind of learning,' says Villari. He had drunk deeply of all the knowledge of his day—its theology, its philosophy, and its science too—for though he had not known later discoveries, as an observer of visible phenomena he is marvellously accurate.

But perhaps to twentieth-century readers of the great Florentine, nothing is more interesting than Dante's views of government. This is a part of his life which seems inconsistent with his poetical character, and Boccaccio blames him for mixing himself up in politics at all, just as Professor Hales blames Milton that he who had 'fitted himself for the dreams and delights of a poet. . . abdicated his throne, and

¹ *Quarterly Review*, June 1899.

entered into the loveless regions of controversy.' But Milton did not mix up his politics with his poetry. Dante did. They were part of his very life. Other statesmen have been authors, from the days of Thucydides and Xenophon and Cæsar to the time of Queen Victoria, when we have seen prime ministers who have translated Homer and edited Butler and written novels, but in these latter cases the literary work was only a recreation. And if rulers like Marcus Aurelius, and that Admirable Crichton of our own land, King Alfred—saint, warrior, scholar, all in one—could give time to writing, in the one case the philosophic views were not worked out in practical form, and in the other the writings did not refer to politics at all. And although poets (like Wordsworth and Coleridge and Southey in their early revolutionary days, and Shelley when he wrote the *Revolt of Islam* and *The Masque of Anarchy*) have expressed their hopes for better government in their verse, they were not themselves practical politicians. Spenser certainly held office, and described the events of his time under the veil of allegory, but he took no great part himself as Dante did; and the earnest reality of Dante's character, that 'intensity' which Carlyle calls 'the prevailing character of his genius,' prevented him from presenting his political beliefs under the form of 'conceits' as the Elizabethan did. In the *Divina Commedia* he is describing the spiritual side of life as he believed it actually existed in the unseen world. 'Behold the man who has been in Hell,' said the people of Verona. And Dante indeed felt as if he had been there. The deep pits of Malebolge, the steep sides of the soul-purifying mount were as real to him as the Venetian arsenals,¹ or the rocky ascents of Bismantora and Sanleo.² So he could be poet and politician at the same time. There is no wonder, therefore, that the political theories which had so vital an interest to so great a mind should be of abiding interest still, and that fresh translations of the great work should appear year by year, and fresh studies of the great poet's teachings. And those teachings are not out of date altogether for the men of the new century. For Dante's ideals of government have a curious

¹ *Inf.* xxi. 7.² *Purg.* iv. 25.

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similarity to those which fired the imagination of great thinkers before the French Revolution, and though the Imperialism by which he would work them out differs widely from the British notions of to-day, yet it is still *Imperialism*—a central rule allowing diverse local autonomies—by which the poet would regenerate the world. And though the needs of his age are not the needs of the twentieth century, yet the same hindrances prove a bar to good government now as then.

The time when Dante wrote was the junction of two eras. John Ruskin calls 1300 'a kind of central year.' Ancient liberty, municipal and tribal, had passed away, and the new principle of nationality had not been born. Religion had lost the first impulses of primitive Christianity, and the awakening of the Reformation was yet to be. Learning had tied itself down to petty definitions, and the freer and wider culture brought from Greece at the Renaissance was unknown. Dante everywhere complains of the degeneracy of his times, and in the *Paradiso* he represents the wisdom of the Schoolmen, the self-denial of the Monks, the devotion of the Friars, in their first and purest forms. Carlyle calls him the 'voice of ten silent centuries,' because he represents Feudalism and Catholicism at their highest and best.

Not so long ago it was the fashion to idealize mediævalism. The glamour of romance made the ages of chivalry to appear the ages of noblest deeds, and the days of ascetic devotion, the days of truest Christianity. At the same time the rudeness and ignorance of the mediæval knight, the superstition and folly of the mediæval monk made the term 'dark ages' not inappropriate to the centuries which some still called 'ages of faith.' As a matter of fact *both* views are right. Professor Bryce remarks,¹ speaking of the later middle ages: 'At no time in the world's history has theory—pretending all the while to control practice—been so utterly divorced from it. Ferocious and sensual, that age worshipped humility and asceticism; there has never been a purer ideal of love, nor a grosser profligacy of life.'

The knightly ideal, of a champion 'redressing human

¹ *Holy Roman Empire.*

wrongs,' and devoting himself to the service of woman and the weak, did not prevent wholesale massacres, and certainly did not extend to the poorer classes. The days were those of

'the simple plan

That they shall take who have the power,

And they shall keep who can.'

Freedom had been a Teutonic ideal, when all the 'Gefolge' had been the peers of the Dux; but it did not extend to the inhabitants of the land where the conquering tribes settled; there the serf and villein had no rights. The religious ideal was one of self-sacrifice; but by Dante's day the saintly hermit—retiring from an evil world to pray for mankind—had become the self-indulgent monk,¹ the earnest preaching friar had degenerated into the ambitious demagogue.² While as to the bulk of lay Christians, at no period in the world's history has the profession of religion had so little influence on practice. The profession was the early Christian one, the duty of devotion to the service of God and His poor; but in practice it had degenerated into a kind of balancing of accounts with Heaven—a making up for sins by large gifts—so that those who never prayed themselves would build stately monasteries and chantries, and the baron who ravaged his own neighbourhood would lead expeditions to the Holy Land.

How little of the true religion of primitive Christianity lingered in these ages may be seen by two signs: the entire absence (in spite of large charitable doles, and occasional examples of self-denying love like St. Elizabeth of Hungary) of any sense of sympathetic philanthropy—any realization of the Christian brotherhood of man; and the almost complete cessation (with the exception of Raymond Lully, the Franciscan Mission to China, and perhaps the Mission of St. Francis himself to the Sultan alluded to by Dante in *Par.* xi. 100-103) of any attempt to Christianize the heathen world. The spirit which had animated the Church from the days of the Apostles to those of our own Wilfrid of Crediton is conspicuously absent during those very ages when the salvation of the unbaptized heathen was deemed an impossibility.

¹ *Par.* xxii. 73-90.

² *Ibid.* xii. 106-120.

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The middle ages fought the Saracen—there was no effort to convert him.

But in fact no proof is needed to show how complete was the divorce between religion and daily life. Poetry was the 'gay science,' separated from the serious and moral side of life; scepticism had tinged some of the strongest minds of the day (like Dante's own tutor, Brunetto Latini). The reform which Dante inaugurated was just as great as that effected by Addison, the union of religion and culture, the principles of religion worked out in practical life.

In Italy especially every vice seemed rampant. Too near to the evil life of the Head of the Church to respect religious rule, too far from the Emperor to derive any benefit from his theoretical sway, it was given up to struggle. Where the Signor became absolute, as in Milan, there was the tyranny of one; where the oligarchy ruled, as in Venice, the tyranny of an aristocracy; where factions contended, as in Florence, the tyranny of many. And the constant wars of the republics between themselves had all the evil of civil wars, and lacked the sense of union often produced by resistance to a foreign invader.

To look upon these mediæval republics as in any sense a foreshadowing of modern ideas of liberty and democracy would be erroneous. Their earliest form was borrowed probably from the Greek settlers in Naples and Sicily, and even when Italy fell under the power of the barbarians, they kept up some form of Roman rule in their own municipalities. The cause for their establishment was in every case the same—a desire of the merchant class to free themselves from feudal lords, and to fortify their cities as a defence for their trade from predatory neighbours. They were all of them municipal oligarchies, where the power was as much in the hands of a burgher class as it was lately in the Transvaal. But, nevertheless, as Sismondi points out, government was a science, and not the mere rule of the strongest.

The year 1300, the imaginary date of Dante's vision, is chosen by the historians Villari and Compagni for a review of their country's state. Mr. Symonds calls the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the 'Age of the Free Burghs,' and the

fourteenth and fifteenth the 'Age of the Despots.' Of course, those really 'dark ages' of the Renaissance which needed the great upheaval of the Reformation to purify them were not yet. But the Visconti and the Estes were the forerunners of the Sforzas and Borgias, and Eccelin Romano was the first of the tyrants. The influence of the Church was already on the wane: Boniface and Clement foreshadowed Sixtus and Alexander. This was the world of chaos into which the great Italian poet was born. Burning with patriotic love for 'that fair fold wherein a lamb he lay,' he not only worked himself for the good of his generation, but he painted an ideal picture of order and development. And the ideal, sometimes in a poetical, and sometimes in a practical form, runs through all his writings, and is found not only in the *De Monarchia* and the political letters, but in the *Commedia* itself.

What, then, were Dante's ideals, and what were the means by which he hoped that they might be realized? His times were times of strife and disunion; he pictured a state of order and peace where the intellectual faculties should have full play.¹ His times were times when religion had little practical power; his ideal was that of men led by faithful guides first to the state of primæval innocence, and finally to the Vision of God. It is a 'far cry' from the Christian imperialist of the fourteenth century to the sceptical republican of the eighteenth; from the scholarly Florentine who would restore to their original purity all the best ideals of his age, to the speculative philosopher who would regenerate society by turning the world upside down. Yet in the hopes of both there is a curious similarity, even if there be a marked difference in the means by which those hopes are to be realized. If Dante's *De Monarchia* be read side by side with William Godwin's *Political Justice*, the likeness of the ideals aimed at may be seen by the most superficial observer. Both think the development of the intellect is necessary. Dante² makes it the chief factor in obtaining 'earthly beatitude.' Godwin³ writes that 'happiness is the true form of

¹ *De Monarchia*, bk. i. 3, 4-6.

² *D. M.* ii. 34.

³ *P. J.* introd. pt. i.

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moral political disquisition, and its highest form is the intellectual.' And both consider the state most favourable to the right development of Man to be one of liberty, justice, and peace. 'The best state of man is that in which he is most free,' says Dante.¹ 'Individual independence is the highest state, and without it man can be neither wise, useful, nor happy,' says Godwin.² Dante places just rulers in Jupiter above the doctors and warriors, for justice is in consonance with the chief good,³ and Godwin makes it the central virtue of all, almost as all-embracing a grace as Christian charity. 'It requires,' he says, 'that I should put myself in the place of an impartial spectator, and divest myself of retrospect for my own predilections.' And equally important is the view which both teachers take of the place of peace in an ideal world. In war nothing could attain to its true goal, is the poet's principle;⁴ and the philosopher devotes two entire sections of his Fifth Book (16-17) to an examination of its evils.

The two are alike, therefore, in describing the needs of society, alike in desiring a return to the Age of Innocence—the Golden Age of which heathen poets had sung. But the Christian poet saw deeper than the infidel philosopher into the nature of man. While Godwin ascribed all man's imperfections to his education and surroundings, Dante recognized the sin inherent in fallen humanity, and knew that it was only after the ascent of the 'soul-purifying mount' that he would be enabled to be 'King and Bishop over himself.' Man's nature, according to Dante, was meant to be like his Maker, 'created first [he] was blameless, pure, and good,'⁵ but sin had 'disfranchised him and made unlike to the chief good,'⁶ and so he,

'Like all seed

Out of its proper element, thrives but ill.'

So in the *De Monarchia* (i. 8) Dante says: 'It is the intention of God that everything should represent the Divine Nature as far as its nature allows.' But sin had made the

¹ *D. M.* i. 12.

² *Par.* xix. 88.

³ *Par.* vii. 34-5.

⁴ *P. J.* introd. pt. iii.

⁵ *D. M.* i. 4.

⁶ *Par.* vii. 79.

'whole creation groan,' and where Dante represents sin as reigning unchecked in the *Inferno*, he pictures it under *unnatural* images, sowers of dissension cut into two parts, suicides turned into trees, all distorted, and not following their original creation as it was conceived in the mind of their Maker.¹ Godwin, believing in man's natural goodness, and ignoring his inherited selfishness, expected that the regeneration of mankind would follow from a change of surroundings (in modern phraseology, that environment could overcome the influence of heredity). Dante knew man could *not* rule himself. And the peace which Godwin looked for in the equal distribution of power and property,² Dante expected only from the appointment of one Heaven-sent ruler³ raised by his supreme position above the temptation of conquest. A curious commentary on Godwin's hope for peace from republican rule may be found in a letter of Lord Palmerston to Cobden in 1862. The practical knowledge of men gained by the nineteenth century had led the statesman to the same conclusion as that to which the poet's insight had guided Dante five hundred years before. Lord Palmerston writes: 'Man is a fighting and quarrelling animal; and that this is human nature is proved by the fact that republics, where the masses govern, are far more quarrelsome and addicted to fighting than monarchies, which are governed by comparatively few persons.' In one point, however, the philosopher was in advance of the poet. For in the centuries between the two the spirit of Christianity had so permeated the world that even one who, like Godwin, denied the Christian faith accepted the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man. Equality, of course, was no ideal of the middle ages, and Dante's sympathies are almost entirely confined to those of his own class.⁴ Charity generally took the form of patronizing gifts, and though Dante can praise voluntary poverty in St. Francis, he does not seem to desire good government as a means of ameliorating the condition of those who must have suffered most from the state of war in Italy, neither does he mention it as the glory of good govern-

¹ *Par.* xxix. 19, 20. *Inf.* xiii. 37, xxviii. 22.

² *P. J.* Bk. v. 16.

³ *D. M.* i. 10.

⁴ Cf. A. J. Butler, *Dante and his Times*.

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ment to give equal rights to all. Now this was just the chief object of the desired reforms of the eighteenth century. When the same principles which actuated Godwin touched the poetic natures of a later day, it was the poorest and lowliest who were idealized. How the bright dreams of the French Revolution influenced Wordsworth, he has told us himself in the *Prelude*, and his hopes for the future are all mixed up with pity for the oppressed.

'For where hope is, there love will be
For the abject multitude.'¹

'Lowly sympathy' and 'knowledge of man's noble nature' would necessitate 'the government of equal rights and individual worth.'²

So with Godwin's more immediate disciple, Shelley—he who proved his own love for humanity by acts of practical benevolence—all his hopes for a regenerated world included the poor. Freedom for him is

'For the labourer bread,
And a comely table spread.'

She is

'Clothes and fire and food
For the trampled multitude.'³

'Want, and plague, and fear, from slavery flow.'⁴

These hopes were not Dante's. Equal laws for all were no more his ideal than a Missionary Christianity was. The Christian philosopher felt that man needed more than improved surroundings; his fallen nature needed two guides for the two parts of his nature—the Emperor and the Church.

The Emperor, for the mediæval mind could conceive but of one supreme ruler for the whole world—the 'Guardian of the Globe.' As Freeman expresses it, 'the vision of an Universal Empire of law and right shone with an alluring brightness all through the ages of the reign of force.' And theoretically all Christendom accepted this view. Practically

¹ *Prelude*, Bk. ix.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Masque of Anarchy*.

⁴ *Revolt of Islam*.

England and Scandinavia, and in a lesser degree Spain, were unaffected by it from their insular and peninsular positions. France—always restless, eager, and ambitious—was inimical to any control, and therefore the idea held most strongly in Germany and Italy. It was Germany that had revived under Charlemagne the old glories of the Western Empire; and under Otto the same race reformed the Papacy and gave to the Empire its Teutonic succession. The early Italian kings had only claimed to be lieutenants of the Eastern Empire, and never aspired to Imperial rule themselves.

The elective character of the Holy Roman Empire might seem to be inconsistent with the claim to rule by Divine right. But Dante never seems to see any incongruity. The one supreme monarch, however chosen and of whatever race (the only theoretical qualification for the Emperor was that he must be a baptized Christian and freeborn), was with Dante a God-sent ruler, reigning by a Divine right stronger than any Nonjuror ever claimed for his hereditary king, and over a far wider area. For Dante, Henry of Luxembourg was the saviour who was to heal all Italy's wounds, and he was just as much a Roman Emperor as Cæsar himself. Neither place nor dynasty made any difference; Charles the Great at Aachen, Constantine and Justinian at Byzantium, all were holders of the same 'Universal Ensign,' which to oppose was to oppose God.¹ Brutus and Cassius were as much traitors as Judas.² And yet Dante was by birth and education and conviction a Guelph, a believer in civic freedom, an enemy of the rough and alien soldiery who, in the Emperor's name, opposed the sober, peaceful, cultivated citizens. Now Guelphs by tradition had always looked to the Pope, yet Dante's hopes for the regeneration of the world came from the very power they had so often defied. Boniface VIII., 'the fiercest and most high-minded of Roman Pontiffs,' Macaulay calls him, then filled the chair of St. Peter. Why did not Dante look to him? The answer is plain. It was not his work.

For Dante's ideal included a second guide, to devote himself to spiritual matters *only*. The Pope was Universal Bishop

¹ *Par.* vi. 100.

² *Inf.* xxxiv. 61, 62.

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in his estimation, but then he did not think that a bishop's work was to control warring factions; he was not to join the 'sword to the crook.' Believing as he did that the Empire dated from Æneas and Augustus, he had no difficulty in proving that the secular authority was antecedent to the spiritual, and could not be derived from it. In fact, Dante distinctly regrets the wealth which led the Church to claim temporal rule.¹ From such words some have even been led to look upon Dante as almost a Protestant Reformer. But though he places four popes in hell and two in purgatory, yet he never doubts their authority in spiritual matters. Although popes were not to be obeyed if they led to evil, yet to treat even the worst of them with disrespect was a sin second only to the greatest crime the world has ever seen.² Dante's ideal world needed something more than an outward state of order. Change of 'environment' was not enough. Man needed a change of *heart*. Dante did not believe in man's 'capability of unlimited improvement,' like Godwin, or 'look on the shield of man's nature from its golden side,' like Wordsworth. Therefore he needed a guide to develop the spiritual side of man's nature, and to purify him from those evil instincts which the Perfectionists ignored. And this guide he expected to find in the Pope; and he never ceased to look for the day when two suns shining at Rome would enlighten the world.

At *Rome*! What is the magic that both on its ecclesiastical and its civil side casts a glamour over the old mistress of the world? That little city, with its unhealthy surroundings, with no trade, no manufactures, no colonizing people, why has its very name an influence such as no other spot on the earth's surface has ever had? Other cities have played far greater parts in the formation of the surrounding country than Rome ever did. Paris is not only the centre of France, she *is* France. London has been the centre of English national life from King Alfred downwards. But Rome after the removal of Constantine never took the leading place in Italy; Venice, Milan, and Florence were far more powerful.

¹ *Inf.* xix. 112-114. *Par.* xxvii. 42-3.

² *Purg.* xx. 85-93.

Yet the greatness of her name remained all through the centuries. Deserted by emperor, deserted by pope, diminished in population as well as in power, she kept her place still from the mythical days of her early kings until a regenerated Italy would be content with nothing but *Roma Capitale*.

Probably it is the continuity of her greatness which gives to Rome this unique hold on the imagination. Rome, the mistress of the ancient world, the Rome of the consuls and the Cæsars, passed imperceptibly into mediæval Rome, the Rome of Charlemagne and Otto, of Gregory and Hildebrand. Patrician, Consul, Tribune, were the names chosen by her reformers; even the Huns and Vandals would only reign as lieutenants of the true Emperor of the seven hills; Charlemagne and Otto inaugurated their rule as successors of the Cæsars at their own seat of empire. That Dante recognized this continuity in civil rule is proved by the history which he puts into the mouth of Justinian,¹ but he traces it also in spiritual sway.² This same Rome is the city of which all true Italians are citizens³; it is the type of the Celestial City, 'that true Rome, wherein Christ dwells a Roman.'⁴

No doubt the Pope looked upon himself (and with reason) as in some sort the successor of the temporal authority of the Cæsars. For when there was no other authority in Rome, it was Innocent and Leo who repelled the barbarians, and the great Charles himself came not as a rival but as the invited champion of the Church. But Dante did not admit such supremacy. The claim of Boniface VIII. to be supreme 'over kings and princes' was as hateful to him as the supineness of Celestine, the simony of Nicholas, the gluttony of Martin, and the avarice of Adrian. Only in spiritual matters does he believe in the necessity of one Supreme Head, and that Head must be Bishop of *Rome*, just as the German King must be *Roman* Emperor. The old days of equal patriarchates had been forgotten from the schism with the East. And though the bishopric of Constantinople still existed in Dante's time, and though he knew that the Albigenses (whose beautiful *langue d'oc* he so much admired) in a previous generation,

¹ *Par.* vi.² *Inf.* ii. 22-30.³ *Ibid.* xv. 77-78.⁴ *Purg.* xxxii. 101.

and the Waldenses of his own day, denied the Pope's supremacy, yet the poet faithfully accepted the ideal of his age—the one supreme Head of the Church at Rome.

But, as with the secular ideal, in Dante's hands it became purified and restored to its original lustre. For him the work of the spiritual guide was to lead to the vision of God. The ideal was *not* realized. Darker days came upon Dante's beloved Italy after his death—days of more cruel tyranny and darker unbelief. The art and the culture he loved increased, but they drifted farther and farther away from religion, and the Papacy sank to the lowest ebb of sensuality and cruelty.

It remains to consider what were the special hindrances to the realization of Dante's ideal. And he has not left it to the imagination of commentators to find out this for themselves. For in the opening allegory of the *Inferno* (which is really an introduction to the whole poem) he shows plainly that he felt it was man's own evil passions which prevented his attaining to the state of peace and happiness for which he was created.

The opening allegory of the Vision is well known to every student of Dante. Emerging from a dark and tangled wood (representing probably the disordered state of the world of his day, as well as the confusion of his own mind), he approaches a sunlit hill—generally interpreted to mean a state of good government and happiness. He is hindered in his ascent by three beasts—a spotted leopard, which he rather admires than fears; a 'hunger-mad' lion; and, worst of all, a wolf, which follows him as he retreats, until he is saved by Virgil. Now these 'beasts' are evidently the passions of the lower nature let loose; factiousness and luxury typified by the leopard; pride and cruelty by the lion; and avarice by the insatiable wolf. Some have interpreted the beasts as allegorizing those Powers which yielded to the special sins: the leopard Florence, the lion France, the wolf Rome. However this may be, it is certain that the feeling with which Dante regarded the leopard is quite different from that inspired by the other beasts; he admires its beauty. Perhaps this is because he could say of his own Florence, 'With all

thy faults, I love thee still'; or perhaps he meant that self-seeking and luxury, dangerous as they are to good government, have at the first sight something attractive about them. And the lion also only bars the way; the wolf follows Dante to attack him. The outside enemy, France, was less to be dreaded than the neighbour, Rome; and pride and cruelty were not so harmful to good government as avarice. The 'love of money,' whether it appeared in the form of prodigality or avarice ('getting or spending,' as Wordsworth calls them), would continue to hinder good government until the 'Greyhound' drives the wolf away. Whether by this the poet intends a play upon the name of his friend, Can Grande della Scala, the Imperial vicar, or whether he is thinking of the Emperor Henry himself, the meaning is the same: that only one universal Heaven-sent ruler could restrain lawlessness, and repel invasion, and check the selfish search for wealth found on all sides, and especially with the Pope.

The allegory need not be applied to Dante's day only. His three beasts have hindered good government everywhere and in all time. To take the first, whether it be interpreted of luxury and licentiousness, or of factiousness and party spirit, it is evidently selfishness in some form which has produced all misgovernment. And, curiously enough, while the very word 'republic' seems to imply liberty and equal rights, all history shows that nowhere has greater oppression been found than under the rule of the *many*, and that such rule tends inevitably to the despotism of *one*.

It certainly was so with the Italian republics of the Middle Ages. Their ancient ideal of the justice of Roman law, their theory of municipal unity and freedom had been confronted with a different conception of liberty, that of the Teutonic invader. And in the struggles for supremacy the cities had inevitably to appeal to strong outside help. Podestàs, captains of the people, were sometimes chosen to keep order and preserve the balance of parties. Or they might be leaders of mercenary bands like the Sforzas, or Imperial vicars like the della Scala. But, any way, their rule tended to become despotic and hereditary. These were later developments; before another century had passed all the cities (except

Venice, the power remained; the others accepted the damage; the factious; the field, the in mountain; those mountains; later years; a pure and public; responding; of countries; centuries; to the sea; for yielding; of civilisation; spirit was; all were; factions; mountains; could not; powerful; people; Capulet; master. was always; trade success.

A sign of these things is an image against rationality. In Italy, land divisions; tionally.

¹ Sierro Lucca.

Venice, which remained a close aristocracy) had fallen under the power of despots. In Dante's time the democratic power remained with the burghers, who chose their own ruler or accepted the Emperor's nominee; but his poetic vision saw the danger to the commonwealth from their luxury and factiousness. Not bound to follow any feudal lord to the field, they became refined to a degree unknown to the dwellers in mountain fastnesses, and this led to the employment of those mercenary soldiers who became so great a danger in later years. Examples originally of the bourgeois virtues of a pure and simple life, and the republican virtues of patriotism and public spirit—luxury made them a prey to the corresponding vices; love of home became love of ease, and love of country, party spirit; and the reforms of Savonarola two centuries later showed how the Florence of his day had yielded to the same temptations. And Dante blames other republics for yielding to frivolity, greediness, and speculation, all vices of civilization, born of many needs.¹ Factiousness and party spirit were also besetting sins of these early republics. When all were eligible for power, all desired it. Sometimes the factions may have had a racial origin; the lords of the mountain fastnesses forced to dwell within the city walls could not amalgamate with the citizens. Sometimes the more powerful burghers contended with the lower orders of the people; sometimes there were family feuds—Montagues and Capulets—encouraged by the commonwealths who needed a master. And beyond the walls the rivalry of city and city was always a cause of strife, mostly the result of a desire for trade success.

A similarity has often been noted between the struggles of these republics and those of ancient Greece. But there is an important difference. The Greeks could and did unite against a foreign invader; there was a strong sense of nationality, of the difference between a Greek and a barbarian. In Italy the 'Patria' was the city, and love for the Fatherland did not extend beyond its walls. The cities did occasionally unite, as in the Lombard League led by Milan, and

¹ Siena, *Inf.* xxix. 121-3; cf. also the references to Casentino and Lucca.

the union of 'the cities which affect the Pope' against the Emperor. It has been reserved for our own day to see the dream of an united Italy realized. In Dante's time there was no bond of nationality; the only union of which he dreamt was to come through the Emperor, and, Guelph as the poet was, he welcomed Henry VII. as a peacemaker, the arbiter who would control Italian factions.

Nevertheless, in their personal characteristics the ancient and mediæval republics are curiously alike. Both Dean Church and Mr. Symonds note the similarity between Florence and Athens. Both were alike in eager curiosity, in restless love of change,¹ and in a passion for art. And in both cities culture was accompanied by a certain sceptical and merely patronizing acceptance of the national religion. Just as the ancient faith had become in the days of Socrates a beautiful myth, and not a practical guide of life, so was Christianity among the learned of Florence in the days of Dante.

Mr. Symonds also compares Venice and Sparta. Unlike the other republics, but like her ancient model, Venice was a colonizer. And her Government was less purely democratic. Her Doge was controlled by the Council, just as the Spartan Kings were by the Ephors.

Besides these special analogies there are certain general characteristics found both in Greece and Italy. All the republics were democratic in origin, their power derived from the people. All tended to split into factions, even taking part with the enemies of their State to unite with those of the same political views in another city (the Ghibelines of Florence taking part with Arezzo, as the democrats of Athens did with Thebes). All were jealous of great men. Dante at Ravenna is a second Aristides; all dreaded aristocracy; the 'ordinances of justice' were like the decrees of banishment in Greece.

Lastly, the republics were alike in their eventual fate, the fate of all republics, the fate which Burke foretold for the first Republic of France: they fell under the rule of tyrants. They might be cultivated, like Pericles and the Medici, or despots, like the Sforzas and the Pisistratidæ, but tyrants they

¹ *Purg.* vi. 145-7.

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The next beast is a lion, variously interpreted as Pride and Ambition, or France. That pride and ambition hinder good government is a truism; that French influence has always been prejudicial to Italy is a fact of history. It was by the French party that Dante himself was banished, and after his time it was Charles VIII. who destroyed the last remnant of republican power in Florence. Restless ambition has always been a mark of the French character. Too fond of the soil of France to be good colonizers, they never settled in Italy, as many Germans did, but only disturbed its peace to seek *la gloire*.

Even in modern times, though the victor of Magenta and Solferino did indeed help to free Italy from Austrian oppression, though an English poetess hailed him as one who

‘Came to deliver Italy,
Emperor evermore,’

yet when he had satisfied the craving of his people for war he played just the part of the earlier invaders of Italy, and became the opponent of liberty, the defender of the Pope.

But the lion was not as terrible as the wolf. No foreign enemy could do the harm a neighbour could; outside war could not pursue as selfishness did. Avarice, greed, selfishness in any form, is the inherent vice of human nature which follows man everywhere. And the Papal temporal power was the type of this vice to Dante.¹

The same hindrances have opposed the progress even of our generation, but not exactly in the same way. Party spirit instead of checking freedom has been made the engine of representative rule, and in England at all events government by opposition has rather provoked emulation than enmity. Even ambition has been purified to a certain extent by alliance with patriotism. The imperialism of our day, the desire for the wide rule of the English race and the extension of her trade, is a very different thing from the desire of acquiring territory which led the French to invade Italy. Of course

¹ *Inf.* vii. 46-48.

the evil is ever mingled with the good. We are quite as much a 'nation of shopkeepers' and as alive to our national interests as the ancient Florentines. We cannot say that our expansion has for its primary aim the good of the native people where we settle, but, though our own advantage may be our original motive, we do mostly honestly try to 'take up the white man's burden' and to benefit where we conquer.

Avarice and greed can never cease to tempt while man is what he is; but they cannot, in England at all events, be called the special sins of our religious guides, and even the most advanced continental radical who hates 'Clericalism' with a bitter hatred would not accuse his priests, as Dante did, of seeking personal wealth.

And Dante's panacea for the cure of all these evils was *Imperialism*; that would unite factions, repel invaders, and leave the Church free for her proper work. Of course Dante's Imperialism was very different from modern conceptions. It required a personal ruler, and though it admitted differences of local autonomy it hardly allowed for the wide divergence of different races. Moreover, it had for its complement an universal spiritual authority. With Dante the Empire and the Papacy were not antagonistic, but correlative. Each had its own work, and would fail if it attempted any other. Carlyle, in his *Heroes*, lays it down as an axiom that 'the true king, guide of the practical, has ever something of the pontiff in him, guide of the spiritual.' But it has not been found so in history. Whether it be that the mixture of sacred and secular things has a tendency to deteriorate the higher work or not, it is certain that rulers who attempt to mix the two functions have never been real benefactors to mankind. The fanatics of Munster, the Covenanters of Scotland, the Puritans in America, were all oppressors in different ways. Dante saw the wisdom of Pope Gelasius when he said that

'God, knowing the danger of such an aggregation of powers . . . has divided the functions of the two powers . . . the sacred ministry ought by no means to arrogate to itself the administration of secular business.'¹

¹ Quoted by Hall Caine in *The Eternal City*.

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Our day, at all events, is not likely to fall into that danger. It may be a question if there be not some danger on the opposite side—if the State does not arrogate to itself some of the functions of the Church; at all events, it claims a supremacy over her.

Can our Imperialism also be a cure for modern evils? At least we hope that it will promote peace in our own dominions; that it will lessen selfishness by widening sympathy and uniting in one those of the same race. Dante noted how the very name of Mantua united Virgil and Sordello.¹ Our fatherland is confined within no city walls; it extends to those scattered all over the world who speak the same tongue, and even, in a lesser degree, gives a feeling of kinship to our cousins across the Atlantic who have separated from its flag, because they speak the tongue that Shakespeare wrote.

Certainly imperialism has been the enemy of luxury. Our colonists are always content to 'rough it'; and our gilded youth willingly left their easy life at home to defend their brothers in Natal. The strengthening and hardening of the national character may be an indirect consequence for good from the Transvaal war.

Lowell tells us that 'God sends His singers into every age.' If a great poet were to arise now to sing the new imperialism and present the ideals of our time at their best and purest, could he do for the twentieth century what Dante did for the fourteenth? Hardly so. In the first place there is no generally accepted standpoint of right, in either civil or religious matters. In Dante's day, every one theoretically accepted the idea of one universal ruler of the Church, and one of the State. Now different nationalities have different modes of government, and the share of power acquired by all classes has given rise to a spirit of criticism. The Ser Martins and Dame Berthas of our day think they know all about everything in politics; while in religious matters there is a tendency to shrink from stereotyping even the eternal verities themselves.

Another reason why no Dante could teach now is the

¹ *Purg.* vi. 74.

rush and complexity of modern life. Dante, as we have seen, was a fully informed student of all the learning known to his time. Our greatest men now are all specialists—life is not long enough to know all that is to be known. Poets may study Nature for its beauty as Wordsworth did, but they have no time to examine into its hidden causes like Darwin as well. No one can be said to know any one subject properly until he has given his life to it, and therefore he could not be at the same time poet, philosopher, statesman, and student, like Dante, even though he were as many-sided as Mr. Gladstone himself.

Yet surely there are still some ideals which unite all sympathies. If a bard should arise now to voice the universal hope of the age, he would first be intensely philanthropic, even socialistic. The service of man is one ideal of our time, and though civilization has its dark corners, a reforming poet would dream of plans for man's social condition by which the very lowest criminals would disappear under the influence of a wider charity and a truer love for humanity, not by a patronising benevolence but by personal sympathy.

'Stand upon the earth . . . to raise them.

The man most man, with tenderest human hands,
Works best for man—as God in Nazareth.'¹

And such an imaginary poet must recognize progress and development. The love of the past which was characteristic of the Romantic Revival has not entirely left the new century, but it is rather sentimental than practical. With Dante, it was on Italy's ancient struggles that he based his hopes for her future freedom. He did not forget the days when every free-born Italian was a Roman citizen, when (as Sismondi says) the little Italian republics 'first lighted the torch of civilization' with that of liberty, when the rest of Europe was submitting to feudal supremacy. And, to be abiding, modern hopes for development should be founded on the ancient progress too.

'Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new,
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they
shall do.'²

¹ *Aurora Leigh*, Bk. ix.

² *Locksley Hall*.

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This must be the note for the new progress of the new century.

Lastly, a new *Divina Commedia* must recognize the spiritual side of man's nature, his relations to God and the unseen world. A practical age we may be, but we realize the unseen quite as strongly as the most superstitious centuries, and far more vividly than the sceptical eighteenth did. It does not need to be a believer in spiritualism, or to accept any of the hypotheses of the Society for Psychical Research, to prove this. And if the invisible be thus recognized on the speculative, far more is it accepted on the more certain religious side. This age is more truly an 'Age of Faith' than those so called. Even Dante himself does not realize in his journey through the invisible world the ever-abiding Presence of the Incarnate Lord as Newman's Gerontius did. In this era even doubting poets like Matthew Arnold feel there is 'a something not ourselves which makes for righteousness.'

'Dante has no imitators,' says Carlyle. Modern poets like Cardinal Newman and Bishop Bickersteth have made the state of the departed soul the theme of their verse. But they do not make it the type of the present life as Dante does. In Tennyson's *Dream of Fair Women*, Mrs. Browning's *Vision of Poets*, and Lewis Morris' *Vision of Saints*, the place in another world of those known to fame is described. But they all avoid contemporaries, and do not attempt to deduce practical political teaching from their poetic pictures.

No. Dante, at once a political and a poetic teacher, is unique. We may have voices from our poets warning us 'lest we forget' what we owe to a superintending Power; cheering us with the hope that

'Good shall fall

At last—far off—at last to all,'

and that even if 'right were worsted,' 'wrong' could not 'triumph.' But, for all that, the twentieth century has not, and never can have, any poet-seer to give her the practical rules for this age that Dante gave to the fourteenth.

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Teachings of Dante. By CHARLES ALLEN DINSMORE.

Price 5s. (Westminster : Constable and Co., 1902.)

MACAULAY, writing eighty years ago, said of the young gentlemen and young ladies of his day that they could as soon read a Babylonian brick as a canto of Dante. Nowadays we seem to have fallen into the opposite extreme. It has become the fashion, not only to read Dante, which is a matter for congratulation, but also to write about him. This latter fashion bids fair to develop into a serious nuisance. Discursive talk about Dante, to the real lover of Dante, is hardly less tiresome than the 'chatter' which used to arouse the wrath of the admirers of Shelley.

Mr. Dinsmore tells us that he took Longfellow's translation of the *Inferno* with him into the woods one hot summer's morning several years ago, and that, after reading awhile, he became so powerfully attracted by 'Dante's great personality' that to attempt to shake off his spell was 'like trying to escape the law of gravitation.' Thenceforward Mr. Dinsmore set himself to study Longfellow's and Professor Norton's translations of the *Divina Commedia*—it nowhere appears that he has made acquaintance with the original—and in no long time began to contribute papers on Dante to the *Atlantic Monthly*. Professor Norton, it seems, suggested that these magazine articles should be gathered into a book—hence the present volume. We cannot help wishing that Professor Norton, himself a profound student of Dante, had refrained from encouraging the publication of these studies in book form. If every enthusiastic reader of Dante is encouraged to give to the world his impressions and appreciations we fear that a revulsion of feeling will inevitably take place, and that the study of Dante will come to be regarded as a craze. Mr. Dinsmore has nothing very original to say. His volume consists, to a large extent, of a sort of running analysis of the narrative portions of the *Divina Commedia*, accompanied by comments, and illustrations drawn largely from trans-Atlantic writers. To this last circumstance the reader is indebted for such strange collocations as 'Dante and Parkman,' or 'our Puritan Dante, Jonathan Edwards,' which are characteristic of a lack of sense of proportion discernible throughout the book. Mr. Dinsmore has read Dante with attention, but it does not seem that he has always been able to appreciate the real significance of what he has read. Of the *Vita Nuova*, for

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instance, he remarks, that 'read as plain prose the tale seems bizarre enough, and Dante appears almost ridiculous.' Again, of the *Paradiso* he says, 'It must be confessed that there is much that on first acquaintance strikes one as ridiculous,' and he gives as an instance 'the flaming spirit of the venerable Peter Damian, whirling like a millstone, making a centre of his middle.' To criticise Dante from such a standpoint as this betrays ignorance almost as abysmal as that imputed by Mr. Dinsmore to Walter Savage Landor for a misconception no whit worse than his own. Nor does Mr. Dinsmore always accurately represent what Dante says. To say nothing of the ludicrous misrendering in the passage above quoted, we have such mis-statements as that Dante discovers Brutus and Cassius 'in the bloody *maw* of Lucifer,' and that he 'submitted to be girded with a *reed*'; neither of them mistakes which should have been made by one who claims to be a close student of Dante. There is a similar looseness of statement in the somewhat perfunctory sketch of the poet's life at the beginning of the book. Mr. Dinsmore commits himself to the remarkable assertion that 'we know as little of the outward life of Dante as of that of Homer'; yet he tells us the dates of Dante's birth and death, the name of his wife, and various details of his public life. Are we to assume that Mr. Dinsmore knows as much, or as little, of Homer?

For the rest, the book is pleasantly written, in a clear style, and gives evidence of wide, if not deep, reading. To English readers the somewhat undue prominence given to American writers, many of whose names are hardly known on this side of the Atlantic, will not prove an attraction. The volume is provided with a frontispiece from Rossetti's drawing of 'Dante's Dream.' It has no index.

George Eliot. By LESLIE STEPHEN. 'English Men of Letters.'
Price 2s. net. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

THE inclusion of eminent women among 'Men of Letters' will be welcomed by all who read this attractive book. Sir Leslie Stephen (who could write a good life of any English author) is specially fitted, by general sympathy with her aims and ideas, by personal knowledge, and by a keen sense of humour, to write a life of George Eliot. The events of that life are, of course, condensed from other sources; yet nothing can read less like a mere epitome. For the acute comments on these events, and the mature and independent judgment on her works, raise the book to the rank of an original source of information.

It is certainly remarkable that George Eliot should have been not only a novelist but a first-rate novelist. A preparation con-

sisting of the study of philosophy, the editing of a heavy review, and the translation of advanced works of theology might have been enough to stifle any imaginative gifts. Her philosophy did in the end stifle her fiction, but not until she had given priceless treasures to the world. The love of analysis, which at last overwhelmed her, seems to have been long restrained by her vivid memory and her keen sympathy with the facts and companions of her early life. Sir Leslie Stephen passes in review her series of novels. *Adam Bede* he considers to be a masterpiece 'in rather a different sense' from that which the author intended. He cannot quite accept *Dinah* as flesh and blood, and thinks that incidentally 'a more attractive picture' is drawn 'of the sinners whom she ought to have awakened.' The earlier part of *The Mill on the Floss* represents to his mind 'the culmination of George Eliot's power'; and he acquiesces in the prolongation of this earlier part more readily because of the comparative failure of the tragic third volume. He perhaps hardly dwells enough on the supreme excellence of *Silas Marner*; but, on the other hand, he is duly impressed with the dulness of *Daniel Deronda*. His verdict is that she could not really draw a man, except rather a feminine man. Our complaint would rather be that her young men, if men, are not gentlemen. No conceivable definition of that much-debated word would include Stephen Guest; Lydgate apparently tried to belong to the class, and just failed; while probably Will Ladislaw cared little whether he belonged to it or not.

We once heard a very eminent man, to whom his religion was much the most important part of his being, complain that George Eliot was 'out of tune.' We may at least agree that her works are in a minor key, and contain many unresolved discords. Her change of religious views after she was grown up no doubt divorced her intellect from her sympathies; and, in spite of the very high aims of her writings, the physical basis on which she rests seems to impart a sense of inevitableness to the wrong actions of her characters, and of a want of motive to the right actions. Yet Englishmen may rejoice that the author who has dissected character so acutely, and appealed so strongly to the subtler sense of humour, should also have maintained so high a standard of principle.

Matthew Arnold. By HERBERT PAUL. 'English Men of Letters.' Price 2s. net. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

IF the quality of George Eliot's later novels was injured by her philosophy it is equally true that the quantity of Matthew Arnold's poetry was diminished by his culture and power of criticism. The quality of his verse did not indeed suffer, but it was profoundly

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affected. He was saturated with the classics, and he had the fastidiousness of a critic ; and these characteristics imparted a distinction, reserve, and self-control to his poems which made them appeal (as Mr. Herbert Paul says) 'so exclusively to the cultivated taste of the educated classes.'

Mr. Paul's biography has great merits. It is excellent reading ; it is sympathetic and acute ; it is frequently witty ; and yet it hardly seems to us a model biography. The writer of it is so much in the foreground, we have so much of his opinions, his wit, and his wisdom, that Matthew Arnold seems sometimes thrown back and dwarfed in comparison with him. Mr. Paul's *obiter dicta* range over a wide field, and embrace the essentials of Christianity, the merits of *Eccle Homo* and of Dr. Hawtrey's hexameters, the monitorial system in schools, Milan Cathedral, and the management of the Great Western Railway. His judgments are generally sound, but there are too many of them.

The book ends with an eloquent and charming description of its hero ; and, indeed, few celebrated men have been so attractive and even in character, and (except for the loss of his sons) so happy in their lives.

Arnold's life-long devotion to Oxford was a remarkable instance of the spell which Oxford casts over her sons. His undergraduate years were passed at a time when the University was given over to controversial theology, in which he took little interest. There was abundant talent, there was even genius in the place ; but so dominant was the religious interest that, except Matthew Arnold himself, Ruskin, and Froude, it would be difficult to name any Oxford writer who exercised influence over the thought of the nation in the earlier Victorian period, and who did *not* exercise it through the medium of theology. And yet it was this unreformed Oxford, the 'home of lost causes,' the beautiful city by the Thames, the nurse of classical learning, which had his affection through life.

Arnold was not a great theologian, and even in this Review it is unnecessary to say much about his incursion into the domain of that science. We do not, however, quite understand Mr. Paul's remark that he 'took the doctors of the Tübingen school for apostles.' We have always understood that the Tübingen doctors relegated the composition of a great part of the New Testament to the year 150, and drew a sharp line between Pauline and Petrine Christianity. Arnold seems to have made little of the distinction, and to have assigned a much earlier date to the books. But on the whole we had rather keep alive his poetry and literary criticism, and let his theology sleep.

John Ruskin. By FREDERIC HARRISON. 'English Men of Letters.'
Price 2s. net. (London : Macmillan and Co. 1902.)

THE phrase 'English Men of Letters' may certainly be applied, in this series of books, to the biographers as well as to their subjects. To read of Ruskin in the words of Frederic Harrison is a double literary pleasure : we read for the sake of each of these masters of style. Moreover, there are other reasons which tended to fit Mr. Harrison for the work. He knew Ruskin personally, and loved him ; Ruskin's high aims and gorgeous eloquence alike appealed to him with a constant force, and there were certain points (such as the assault on the older political economists) where the lines of thought of the two men, otherwise so divergent, crossed each other. And yet one feels a sense of incongruity, on which it would be churlish to dwell, as Mr. Harrison has alluded to it himself in words of touching humility. He expresses his hesitation at undertaking the task, not from any lack of admiration for the great man whose life he is writing, but because he himself is 'sworn in as a disciple of a very different school, and of a master whom he often denounced,' and may therefore be imperfectly fitted to fulfil it. We will only say that we wish he had succeeded in keeping that master's name out of the book. It occurs too often, and generally with such qualifying words as show the allusion to be out of place and unnecessary.

What a charming picture is that of Ruskin, when Mr. Harrison first visited him, in the year 1860 ! The great man—for he was already famous—receiving his unknown guest with 'radiant courtesy' ; the 'slight but active figure,' 'inexhaustibly vivacious and voluble' ; the impressive manner, and the modest and unassuming bearing ; the affectionate deference to his parents—what a combination of attractive qualities, almost (one would have thought) self-contradictory, or at least incompatible ! It is, indeed, impossible to clothe in words, or even to frame, any definite conception of what Ruskin was, or what his opinions and his aims amounted to. His life was a bundle of paradoxes. The son of a Scotch evangelical wine merchant became the apostle of mediæval art ; and yet his first artistic writings were published before mediæval art had exercised any appreciable influence upon him. The Tory set on foot, and struggled for years to maintain, an experiment in Socialism—or what at least became this in other hands. The severe adherent of logic and fact was the most discursive and inconsequent of writers ; he who was in private life a gentle humble talker wielded such a bitter pen that he compared himself to Swift. These inconsistencies, however, hardly deduct anything from the supreme importance of

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his life and influence. Ideas and not definitions are what Ruskin gave to the world. His definitions, had he made them, would probably have varied with each decade of his life; his ideas and principles were as unchanging as the old-fashioned frock-coat and blue tie which Mr. Harrison describes in 1860, and Mr. E. T. Cook in the days of the Oxford Professorship.

Ruskin's intrinsic nobility of mind was such that his country might well be proud of him. Whether he was as proud of his country may be doubted from some of his utterances, but few men have ever striven so hard to make it better.

Alfred Tennyson. By Sir ALFRED LYALL, K.C.B. 'English Men of Letters.' Price 2s. net. (London: Macmillan and Co. 1902.)

THE memoir of Tennyson by his son is so full and so widely known that Sir Alfred Lyall was probably well advised in making this short book rather a critique of the poet's works than a history of his life. He is well qualified, as a brother poet, to undertake such a task; and he has much that is interesting to say, and many luminous remarks to make, of poetry in general: *e.g.* his description of Nature as she appeared to Wordsworth, 'the homely nurse who endeavours to content the immortal soul of imperial man with his humble abode on earth.' But a prolonged disquisition on poetry is not very easy to read; and this particular disquisition has the further drawback that it leaves one in doubt whether the writer is in full sympathy with Tennyson's aims or has a thorough appreciation of his excellence as a poet.

It is a pleasure to contemplate so complete a life and character as those of the late Poet Laureate. He consecrated himself to the service of poetry from his earliest years; he was the bosom friend of a set of undergraduates at Cambridge, so brilliant that they formed an excellent circle of critics for his early works; he lived through years of poverty and neglect into an old age of fame and wealth, and yet was never tempted, poor or rich, to give to the public anything but his best work; and he left behind him a son who was able and willing to let us all see what sort of man his father was. And yet it is possible that his fame suffers, or has suffered, from some of these advantages. The admiring inner circle of friends perhaps tended for a time to repel the larger public; the lucidity and beauty of language which he attained probably inclined hasty critics to think that other contemporary poets, because more rugged or more obscure, must be also more deep; and the whole-hearted admiration of his son tempts readers to think that there must be another side to his character which is not shown. So far as any such criticisms

have been passed upon Tennyson, we believe them to be essentially unjust. It seems to us impossible for any person who reads *In Memoriam*, and reads with it the letter in which Henry Sidgwick describes its effect on the rising intellect of the Universities, to refuse to allow either depth of thought or width of influence to the author; but we rather doubt whether we should carry Sir Alfred Lyall with us. At least, he quotes with sympathy FitzGerald's judgment that Tennyson reached the highest point in his work in 1842; he considers him to be 'in his proper domain' when he 'returns to the surface' after a descent into the mysteries of human existence; and his general view of poetry seems to be a view which makes much more of the influence of a generation upon its poets than of the reflex influence of the poets upon their generation.

Sir A. Lyall justly praises Tennyson's power of describing nature, of conveying the 'true outline and colour' of a scene. He does not, we think, make sufficient mention of the peculiar quality imparted to these passages by the introduction of an intellectual conception which prevents the words from being barely descriptive. The verse he quotes from 'The Palace of Art,' beginning 'A still salt pool,' is a very good instance of this; for here the expression 'moon-led waters' is not description; it leads the mind to conceive the action of the tides, and imparts a special distinction to the passage.

We believe that a good many similar instances might be found, and that they might suitably be used as the introduction to an analysis of Tennyson's art.

The Poetry of Robert Browning. By STOPFORD A. BROOKE.

Price 10s. 6d. (Isbister and Co., 1902.)

MR. STOPFORD BROOKE has produced a study of Browning which, though not the first of its kind, is very helpful and complete. The ablest chapter in the book, the one which in spite of its length it is hard to put down, is the first, which contains a contrast of Tennyson and Browning, and a candid statement of the faults of the latter. Other passages which we may single out for special praise are the comparison of Pompilia and Balaustion (p. 370), the parallel drawn between Browning and Sordello (p. 331), showing that 'Sordello's' obscurity represents a phase in Browning's character and career, and the final panegyric on Browning as a poet and a man (pp. 441-2). The book abounds in eloquent passages, of which we may give the following as an instance (p. 329): 'There comes a time, sooner or later, to a great poet when, after many experiments, the doors of his intellect and soul fly open, and his genius is flooded with the action and thought of

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what seems a universe. And with this revelation of Man and Nature, a tidal wave of creative power, new and impelling, carries the poet far beyond the station where last he rested.' The hopeful spirit of the author, which makes him an apt interpreter of Browning, reveals itself in an interesting passage (p. 23), in which the poet is described as a leader in the reaction against Early Victorian conventionality :

'That reaction has in many ways been carried beyond the proper limits of what is just and beautiful. But these excesses had to be, and the world is beginning to avoid them. What remains is the blessing of life set free, not altogether from the use of conventions, but from their tyranny and oppression, and lifted to a higher level, where the test of what is right and fitting in act, and just in thought, is not the opinion of society, but that law of love which gives us full liberty to develop our own nature, and lead our own life in the way we think best, independent of all conventions, provided we do not injure the life of others, or violate any of the great moral and spiritual truths by obedience to which the progress of mankind is promoted and secured.'

The book abounds in happy statements and comparisons, specimens of which we will quote, premising that part of the appropriateness of such things often depends on the context in which they occur. 'Tennyson had fifty years of recognition, Browning barely ten' (p. 6); 'The Jew lay deep in Browning' (p. 34); 'No trace of the British constitution is to be found in his poetry' (p. 37); 'I think he might have done a little more for England' (p. 29); 'He is never quite "inevitable"' (p. 96). Very happy are the comparison (p. 302) of 'The Bishop orders his Tomb at St. Praxed's Church' to a painting by Velasquez, and the suggestion to read 'The Ring and the Book' 'in four months, letting ten days elapse between the reading of each book' (p. 392), a method hinted at by Browning's way of publishing the poem; and the remark (p. 320) that the scene of 'A Grammarian's Funeral' must be Germany, not Italy.

On the other hand, there are one or two parts of the book where the author is in our judgment less successful. The chapters on the treatment of Nature in Browning are hard and affected. The question which they suggest to us, especially after reading the arid descriptive passages which are quoted in them as illustrations, is whether Browning's treatment of Nature is of great importance. We are disposed to emphasize, even more than Mr. Brooke himself does, such a statement as that on p. 68, 'What he loved was man, and nature' in his poems 'is of little importance unless man be present, and then she is no more than the scenery in a drama.' The treatment of 'Christmas Eve' and 'Easter Day' is very inadequate, and the power of 'The Blot in the 'Scutcheon' is imperfectly appreciated. Then

again the style of the book is occasionally inflated and precious ; the use for example of such words as 'concent' and 'gest' is affected, while the introductory paragraph about Browning and Tennyson sitting on the two peaks of Parnassus is intolerable. When the author says that a description of a thunderstorm in 'Pippa Passes' is 'as splendid as the thing itself' (p. 80) he is merely talking nonsense. Again there are one or two questionable *obiter dicta*, thus : 'When the love of Nature forms the only subject, or when the love of Man forms the only subject, poetry decays and dies' (p. 114). What about Homer and Chaucer? Again, on p. 285, we find coupled with a lyric of Burns and a drawing of Raffaele, 'a song of Beethoven's.' Are Beethoven's songs his distinctive work? There are one or two statements which we simply do not understand. Thus on p. 31 it is said that 'Browning's desire to get to the root of things' was English ; we should have said that the desire to get to the root of things is not an English quality. The English intellect as compared with the French or German has for centuries delighted in the political virtue of compromise, and been too prone to avoid clear thinking and clean-cut systems of thought.

Setting these small blemishes on one side, we are indebted to Mr. Stopford Brooke for helping us with an answer to several questions which suggest themselves to those who feel grateful to Browning without perhaps having thought out the answers for themselves clearly. What was Browning's aim? Wherein has he made the world better? What is his claim to our admiration? Do we like him as a man, or as a poet, or as an intellect? Will his work last? is it obscure or not? is he to be taken seriously, or was he only a Bohemian at heart? We have only space to quote one or two luminous passages from Mr. Brooke, who is a good guide, because though enthusiastic he is not blind.

What was Browning's aim? 'He set himself to represent as far as he could all types of human nature' (p. 6). (Compare with this a passage, too long to quote here (pp. 205-6), in the chapter 'Browning and Sordello.') What was Browning's message? He was an optimist. 'He would have reversed the Psalmist's cry. He would have said : "Thou art not cast down, O my soul : thou art not disquieted within me. Thou hast hoped in God, who is the light of thy countenance, and thy God"' (p. 14) ; 'Whatever he lost, there was one poetic temper of mind which never failed him, the heroic temper of the faithful warrior for God and man ; there was one ideal view of humanity which dominated all his work ; there was one principle which directed all his verse to celebrate the struggle of humanity towards the perfection for which God, he believed, had destined it'

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(pp. 438-9). The chapter on Browning's theory of human life analyzes clearly his philosophy, which may be defined as a gospel of divine discontent with this imperfect life in view of a future to be earned by aspiration and effort, in which the discords will be resolved.

What is Browning's claim to our admiration? Above and beyond his philosophy of life, which proved him to be a bracing and ennobling influence, stands out his genius in its many aspects. 'In reality to do this kind of thing well' ('Fra Lippo Lippi') 'is to do a very difficult thing. It needs a full knowledge, a full imagination, and a masterly execution. Yet when we read the poem, it seems as natural as the breaking out of blossoms. This is that divine thing, the ease of genius' (p. 305). But a further question rises: Is the undoubted genius poetical or only intellectual? Mr. Brooke thinks he can detect a later style in Browning, which is intellectual, not emotional; 'The Ring and the Book' represents the struggle of the two elements in his nature for the mastery. It would be very interesting to know if Mr. Brooke is right in attributing simpler and more emotional poems in 'Asolando' and other later volumes to a convenient poet's desk where youthful poems lie hidden for years and years (pp. 245, 248, 414, 432, 435).

Mr. Brooke is very candid about Browning's faults of style: in fact his book is a mine of quotations for the enemy. But we should be inclined to go even further than he does, and to condemn nearly all the passages which he quotes for praise from 'Sordello' as unpoetical. Perhaps before going any further we had better quote a few of Mr. Brooke's admissions: 'So far as Browning's obscurity goes, his poetry will not last like Tennyson's. It is all very well for his students to say that he is not obscure; he is' (p. 50); 'If he had begun by imitating a little, if he had studied the excellencies of his predecessors more, . . . he would have reached more continuously the splendid level he often attained' (p. 91). Talking of the dramas, about which he is almost too severe, he says (p. 220): 'Poets should be acquainted with their limitations, and not waste their energies or our patience on work which they cannot do well.' 'Fifine at the Fair,' 'with the exception of some episodes of noble poetry, is . . . a very harlequinade of the intellect' (pp. 424-5). In 'Parleyings with Certain People' 'imagination such as belongs to a poet has deserted Browning' (p. 435). The admiration of the Browningites for his obscurities is gently ridiculed in several places (pp. 42, 46, 218). And it is implied that if the later poems are preserved from dying (pp. 54, 416), it will be due to the intellectual pleasure which they give (cf. also pp. 46, 55).

Lastly, is Browning to be taken seriously, or was he merely a

Bohemian diner-out, an intellectual parasite in high life, using the word in its Greek sense, a brilliant but superficial charlatan? We believe with Mr. Brooke that Browning had a message and did men good; his undoubted Bohemian vein is due to his great sympathy with all sorts and conditions of men. There is 'in a poet a roving element, which resents the barriers made by social and domestic purity' (p. 333), reflected in 'Fifine at the Fair.' The truth is excellently summed up in a few words on p. 384: 'There is a certain sympathy in Browning for Aristophanes. The natural man was never altogether put aside by Browning.'

William Hazlitt. By AUGUSTINE BIRRELL. ('English Men of Letters' Series.) Price 2s. net. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

THERE has been a revival in Hazlitt's reputation of late years, due, not improbably, to the warm praise bestowed on him by Louis Stevenson, who has many disciples and followers in the literary world; and it is perhaps not unnatural that a place should have been found for him in the extended circle of Messrs. Macmillan's well-known series. Mr. Birrell writes pleasantly about him, in his usual style, redolent of literary allusions. He can hardly be called an enthusiastic biographer; but it is difficult to be enthusiastic about Hazlitt. Even Stevenson found the *Liber Amoris* business too much for him. Mr. Birrell passes lightly, and with manifest distaste, over this unpleasing episode, and does not dwell overmuch on Hazlitt's various quarrels; but though he praises his literary work with discrimination he fails somehow to leave a very high idea of him in the reader's mind, or to direct him very clearly as to how he should set about making acquaintance with Hazlitt's very voluminous writings. We are inclined to think that Mr. Birrell lets the cat out of the bag when he writes (p. 123), 'Hazlitt's success in circulating his opinions is largely attributable to the fact that . . . he has always been a favourite author with journalists and ready-writers. His views are infectious, his style attractive, and his words very quotable with or without acknowledgment.' To which it may be added that he provides the literary journalist with topics and suggestions *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. He wrote well on many subjects; yet with him, as with Leigh Hunt, it is difficult to read his essays without thinking how much better this sort of thing is done by Charles Lamb. It is the case of genius against talent, and the similarity of subjects makes the comparison more noticeable. After all, is not most of Hazlitt's work simply good miscellaneous journalism?

Haunts of Ancient Peace. By the author of 'The Garden that I Love,' &c. ; with illustrations by EDMUND H. NEW. Price 6s. (London : Macmillan & Co., 1902.)

THIS book is one which deserves to be read not so much for its gentle literary grace, which is considerable, nor even for the intrinsic interest of the questions incidentally discussed, as for the general impression which it leaves upon the mind. The sympathetic reader, whether he agrees or not with the views expressed by the *dramatis personae* of the volume, the Narrator, the Poet, Lamia, Veronica, the Painter, the Parson, the Man of Letters, will at all events thankfully feel, on laying down the book, that he has passed some hours in the company of serious, intelligent, sober-minded, and refined people, fond of the country, fond of good books, lovers of things pure and beautiful, and followers of the ancient ways.

The gentle quaternion with whom Mr. Austin has already made us familiar leave the seclusion of the garden for a more extended survey of the world. Their path lies among green hills, wooded slopes, rich pastures, quiet hamlets, and waters of comfort. They make friends, with enviable ease, with all the agreeable people they meet, they speak with the frankness born of loving intimacy of their dreams and hopes, they deplore modern tendencies, Bridge and Motor-cars, and the indifference of the English nation to the higher literature. They are not, perhaps, always at their best in set conversations ; Lamia's persiflage is not always so sprightly as her interlocutors seem to find it ; and the Man of Letters, in whom we are told to expect 'a genial and diverting talker,' is, it must be confessed, a rather long-winded old gentleman, with a taste for elaborate and obscure compliment. But still the impression holds good and gathers strength that it is good to have been in high-minded and rational company ; and we are tempted to exclaim with Veronica, 'for the crowning mercy of serious conversation, God's name be praised.'

It seems ungenerous to indicate defects in a book which has given us simple and sincere pleasure, but we deliberately think that Mr. Austin is happier when he is praising the old than when he is satirizing the new, for the simple reason that he seems familiar and at home with the former, and to have but a bowing acquaintance with the latter. A great deal is nowadays talked and written about the restlessness, the sick disease of modern life. But probably there were always a majority of busy and bustling people in the world, and a minority of tranquil philosophical persons, who found food for wonder and delight in the face of nature and their

own quiet occupations. It is only, we believe, that, owing to the increased facilities of communication and the daily papers, the bustlers make more noise and stir than they used to do; and we would respectfully beg Mr. Austin, in his next pleasant book, to turn his face more sedulously upon the grave past and the quiet present, and leave the noisy rascals—and, we would add, the politicians—to take care of themselves.

A word must be said in praise of the illustrations; these too have a sober and serious charm of their own, and are evidently the work of one who feels deeply what he depicts. There is something essentially poetical in them, which is even more conspicuous in the smaller vignettes than in the more ambitious designs.

Both to author and artist, then, our thanks are due for a book with a real and definite charm of its own, a sedulous attempt to uphold and to dignify the gospel of simple life and refined thoughtfulness.

Mazarin. By ARTHUR HASSALL. Price 2s. 6d. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903.)

THIS is the latest volume of the excellent series of 'Foreign Statesmen.' Mr. Hassall has, by his earlier books, and especially his *Life of Louis XIV.*, shown his thorough knowledge of recent works on the history of France in the seventeenth century; he now applies this, in special detail, to the career of the clever Italian diplomatist who succeeded Richelieu. The editor has wisely allowed, as he did not allow to earlier contributors in the series, a preface and appendices. These enable Mr. Hassall to put his position more satisfactorily before the reader. While he does not contribute anything of striking originality to the study of the internal or the foreign policy of Mazarin, he writes a judicious estimate of the whole work of that astute statesman. We could wish that he had explained in more detail the duties of the different officials whose offices are important during the epoch of the Fronde. We are glad of the few pages on the relation of Mazarin to literature and art. The book as a whole is careful and sound, without being especially interesting.

The Smith Family. A Popular Account of most Branches of the Name, however spelt, from the Fourteenth Century downwards, with Numerous Pedigrees now published for the First Time. By the Rev. C. READE, M.A. (London: Elliot Stock, 1902.)

THIS book 'professes to review the great Fabrician family, whether crisped as Smith, smoothed into Smyth, or smidged into Smijth,' but of course with limitations. According to Professor Mahaffy

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the Petrie papyri tell us that there was a man known as Smith, and occupied in the beer trade, in the twentieth year of the third Ptolemy, 227 B.C., whereas Mr. Reade modestly begins with the fourteenth century of the Christian era. Moreover it was calculated fifty years ago that the Smith population of London exceeded the total population of Liverpool, not to say that the bare 'Smiths' are said to have frequently merged their patronymic in some other. By way of keeping his book within reasonable bounds Mr. Reade has therefore condensed the pedigrees that have already been published, and he complains that some members of the families of Smith have declined to give him information. We trust that there is some modest shrinking from publicity still left among us to account for this reluctance, as well as the reason which Mr. Reade alleges in his chagrin, that some Smiths are ashamed of their origin. In spite of these various limitations, however, we have a volume here which is full of matters of general interest. The return of the commissioners of Henry VI. in 1433, the lists of the sheriffs, and the heralds' visitations give us information about the mediaeval Smiths and the Smiths of the Reformation period. Then we have chapters on the Smyths of Elkington, the West Country Smiths, the Smiths who wear the name of Dorrien, or Carington, or Pauncefote, or Bromley, the pedigrees of English, Scotch, and Irish Smiths, and a list of celebrities of the name—all irresistibly suggesting to a profane mind the grace about rabbits hot and rabbits cold. Mr. Reade's general conclusion is that these descendants of primitive ironworkers include scarcely a poet or an idealist, while in practical matters they stand pre-eminent. That is to say, the late W. H. Smith, M.P., was the concentrated essence of the clan. So far as we have tested Mr. Reade's own comments by personal knowledge we should not be able to attach much weight to his opinion. For example, he says that Henry John Stephen Smith, one of the most brilliant and accomplished men that were ever connected with Balliol, was 'a man whose attainments were obscured by an offensive affectation and a superb self-assertion.'

The Scenery of England, and the Causes to which it is due. By the Right Honourable LORD AVEBURY, F.R.S., D.C.L., &c. Price 15s. net. Pp. xxvi-534. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

THIS is an attractive book. It is well printed, beautifully illustrated, and written in the graphic and picturesque style for which its talented author is celebrated. Its purpose is to show that the scenery of England is mainly due to *subaërial* agency; and Lord

Avebury follows in the steps of Sir A. Geikie, rather than in those of Sir R. Murchison and Mr. Mackintosh, who advanced the claims of *marine* denudation. The first chapter notices the succession of geological systems in England, and names the districts in which they occur. An account of the glacial period follows, in which its features in England, such as striae, moraines, erratics, and smoothed rocks, are described. Lord Avebury is a thorough glacialist, but on the vexed question of the origin of the boulder-clay he offers no definite opinion. The general configuration of the land is shown to have been occasioned by complex causes, but mainly by rain and rivers. A long chapter describes the action of the sea on the coasts, the formation of shingle and sand, and the silting-up of harbours. Raised beaches and submarine forests are noted, but the author seems to have passed over the 'Head of Rubble,' which on the Cornish coast is, at times, nearly 100 feet thick, and which Sir Joseph Prestwich has proved was formed during a great submergence. Two chapters deal with the origin of mountains. They are mainly formed by the shrinking of the earth's mass, which, by pressure, throws the crust into folds. They are then disintegrated by rain, frost, and rivers. English mountains are next described according to their geological age, from the Wrekin, which is the oldest, being Pre-Cambrian, to hills of Quaternary gravel, which are the latest. The extinct volcanoes of England have a chapter given to them, in which their forms and old lava streams are noticed. Three chapters follow on our rivers. The valleys are said to be the work of streams, aided by rain and frost; but many of the valleys are too large to have been cut by the present streams. The altered course of rivers through geological changes is well described, such as the former different size and course of the Thames and Severn. A most interesting chapter is devoted to our English lakes. Their origin by many causes is discussed, and Lord Avebury thinks that some at least have been formed, as Sir Andrew Ramsay maintained, by being scooped out by glaciers. The drainage and the colouring of lakes are also discussed. The influence of rocks on scenery; downs, fens, and moors; rural customs, the names of towns, and the nebular theory, as indicating the changes during the earth's earlier stages, all have chapters devoted to them. Lord Avebury's standpoint, on the whole, is that of a Uniformitarian in geological theory, but he seems willing to admit that in the past great convulsions have occurred. The value of the book would have been increased if, in the footnotes, not only the *name* of the book referred to were mentioned, but the *page* also. Footnotes should be given in such a precise manner that the reference can be tested. There is a most

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useful list of books and articles referred to at the end of the work, and also a comprehensive index. The glossary at the beginning, however, might have been enlarged with much advantage.

Lombard Studies. By The COUNTESS EVELYN MARTINENGO CESARESCO. Price 16s. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1902.)

THE fascination of Italy for the English traveller, which with some rare exceptions used to find expression in hasty diaries or passing expressions of rapture, to be renewed when the next opportunity occurred, has of late years taken another and far more satisfactory form. Interesting volumes prepared in the land of enchantment itself, collecting the historical facts of bygone times and reinvesting them with life in the actual scenes of their occurrence, have supplied a motive for the delights of travel, while giving them a permanent result. This result is still better attained when the traveller is transformed, through some happy circumstance, into a permanent resident, and has time, opportunity, and special facilities for producing a really important addition to those annals, the *Annali d'Italia*, which did not come to an end when the Abbot-Historian laid down his pen nearly a century ago.

The fascinating subject revives again and again with new life as it appeals to the vigorous Northern mind brought face to face with its manifold claims. Of this we have the greatest proof in the wonderful series of works by the late J. A. Symonds, and also, though in a less degree, in the work before us, the *Lombard Studies*, by Countess Martinengo Cesaresco. Any one who has visited the Lago di Garda, the Benacus of the ancients, will be able to recall, when reading the opening chapter of this book, its beautiful scenery from the summit of the mountain 'Ingannapoltrone,' and the landing-stage at Desenzano, whence embarked on the opalescent waters of the lake, after skirting the richly scented lemon plantations, you rush through the high gorge of the mountains, where the wind lashes the waves into a perpetual foam, to the bustling little town of Riva, at the further extremity. The following lines are a perfect picture:

'The shadows deepen and the sun dips behind the hills towards Brescia. As we go home the oars of the rowers turn up marvellous changing splendours, as one might who should dig for treasure in a fabled Eastern mine—gold changing to orange, orange to crimson, crimson to purple, purple to indigo, which of a sudden becomes illuminated with innumerable trceries of silver. The moon has risen' (p. 44).

In the chapter dealing with the memorials of a Lombard house we have the history of some of the famous palaces on the shore,

and the subject of Moretto's beautiful paintings, Scirra Martinengo Cesaresco and the daughters of Antonio Martinengo, an original letter of Galileo Galilei, and other matters of historical interest. Another chapter is devoted to bringing forward the extenuating circumstances of the melancholy story of Vittoria Accoramboni.

Leaving the Lago di Garda, the writer is no less happy in describing the claims of the Lago d' Iseo :

‘Never was there a little lake of such irregular form, with scenery so various : towering peaks and naked escarpments ; lovely little bays, where the abundant olive groves tell of the mildness of the climate ; islands of all shapes and sizes—castellated isles, monastic isles, tiny desert isles, where a little child would give the world to be shipwrecked on a summer noon ; thickly populated village isles, with pink and white oleanders filling up every inch of room left vacant between the water’ (p. 180).

Rimini, a town only too little known to the English traveller, is presented to the reader in two aspects. First, as the fascinating watering-place lapped by the blue waves of the Adriatic, with stretches of golden sand and a background of amethyst mountains, with the suggestion of the outskirts of the famous Pine Forest of Ravenna in the distant horizon. The little fishing vessels, with their gaily painted sails like so many flamingoes, scudding over the ever-changing sea, the merry population in the colony of seaside villas delighting in the summer bathing, and the swimming master Totano—a character in Rimini—with his coloured gourds to teach the ‘inesperti’ to swim, and the Stabilimento, with its opera and its band, and all the accompaniments of an Italian summer by the sea. Secondly, in sharp contrast, the grand and somewhat sombre aspect of ‘Historical Rimini,’ with the magnificent Roman remains, the bridge over the Marecchia and the arch of Augustus ; or in its mediæval character with the frowning ‘Rocca’ of the Malatesta, the scene of the immortal episode of Francesca da Rimini, or the Tempio Malatestiano, with its romance of Sigismondo and Isotta, for ever perpetuated in sculptured emblems. We refer our readers, and especially our travelling readers, for the key to all these matters of historical interest to the pages of this fascinating volume.

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II.—MUSIC AND ART.

Music in the History of the Western Church. By Professor EDWARD DICKINSON. Price 10s. 6d. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1902.)

THE close connexion of music with worship is due originally to two main causes: first, that all speech, when heightened by strong emotion, tends to approximate to musical tone; second, that in primitive religious ceremonial an important place is taken by movements of dance or pantomime which necessitate a recurrent rhythm. In savage or barbarous rites the two are of almost equal influence; in civilized religions the rhythmic element has usually been subordinated, and sometimes almost entirely suppressed. Particularly is this the case with the music of the Early Christian Church. The dignity and restraint of the Christian ritual were felt to be incompatible with the peculiar nervous effect produced by rhythmic recurrence, and it is a significant fact that our Church music had passed through many centuries of existence before it could be measured in notes of different duration or determined by the beat of a uniform time-signature. Even up to the days of Palestrina rhythm played but little part in religious service; the phrases are rather those of the speaking voice than those of an organized metrical system, and to this may be traced, in part, the sublimity which is so essentially characteristic of his work. There is as much difference between the 'Missa Papæ Marcelli' and an average modern hymn as there is between the Psalms of David and the Psalms of Tate and Brady.

With Palestrina the first great period in the history of Church music came to an end. The artistic revolution of 1600 did much to secularize the melody of the service, and while it gained something in expression it lost more in gravity and in self-control. Even a composer of such high genius as Purcell was unable to resist the prevailing fashion, and his anthems and services too often recall the tradition that Charles II. liked music 'to which he could beat time with his finger.' But meanwhile the art was learning to weave that magnificent texture of harmonic counterpoint which ennoble every melody that it clothes, and in the choral writing of Purcell himself, still more of Handel and of J. S. Bach, it showed itself once more worthy of the high office which it was set to fill. In the 'Messiah' and the 'Israel,' in the B Minor Mass and the St. Matthew Passion the new music proved that it too could raise monuments of imperishable strength and beauty.

After Handel the tendencies more widely diverge. In one

direction went the Viennese school, leading through Haydn and Mozart to its climax in the 'Missa Solennis' of Beethoven; in another the Italian, always deficient in sternness, and paying for its deficiency with the incredible degradation of Rossini's 'Stabat Mater'; in another the German, soft and luxurious with Spohr, picturesque with Mendelssohn, mystic with Schumann, closing on a full note in the 'Deutsches Requiem' of Brahms; in another again the French, sensational with Gossec and Berlioz, emotional with Gounod, always individual in character, and intolerant of limitation; and in another the English, holding firm through its darkest period a slender thread of tradition, and emerging at last into the free air which it is breathing at the present day. It is a far cry from the Church music of the nineteenth century, so brilliant, so diverse, so full of colour and movement, to the primitive beauty and serenity of the Ambrosian hymns.

Such is the story which, in this most interesting and valuable monograph, Professor Dickinson has set himself to recount. We should gather that he is more familiar with the earlier than with the later periods, or it may be that after Bach the subject grows too large for the limits of a single volume, and that in the process of compression some facts must needs be omitted or displaced. But in the main he shows a wide and accurate knowledge of his subject; he takes his information from the fountain-head, and he treats it with dispassionate judgment and with sound critical insight. There are, no doubt, one or two points on which we should disagree, notably, for example, the refusal to assign any Church melodies to Luther; but it is impossible that a volume of so wide a range should not occasionally offer a hostage to criticism. In any case the historical work as a whole is remarkably well done; and the value of the book is enhanced by two excellent closing chapters on the present state of Church music in England and America. We cordially commend the work to all who are interested in the subject with which it deals, and can assure them that they will read it with equal profit and pleasure.

Brother Musicians: Reminiscences of Edward and Walter Bache.

By CONSTANCE BACHE. Price 6s. (London: Methuen and Co., 1901.)

In *Brother Musicians* Miss Bache has provided a pleasant memoir of her two brothers, Edward and Walter, for a generation of music-lovers to whom their names recall but little. The elder is remembered only as a writer of *morceaux de salon*, the younger as the enthusiastic champion of Liszt's compositions; so that we are

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grateful to the sisterly devotion which allows us to see in the letters of both brothers a personality both attractive and artistic. Edward was certainly the more interesting of the two, and decidedly the better as a letter-writer. Miss Bache is evidently not very much in sympathy with his ideals, which to an ardent enthusiast for Wagner and Liszt no doubt seem old-fashioned. But read Brahms and Verdi for Beethoven and Donizetti, and Edward Bache's letters will still express the purest aspirations of the best musicians of to-day. And even in his published music, overlaid as it is with the fashionable flimsy decoration of its age, we can admire his feeling for the best style of Italian melody, and a workmanship that is almost faultless. The memoir of Walter Bache is less attractive. The battle of the Wagnerites has been fought and won—the master's work nowadays needs no defence; Liszt, for all his disciple's enthusiasm, has not yet been, and probably never will be, considered by English musicians as a great composer. We could well have spared many pages on this subject, and most of the letters would bear much cutting down. Miss Bache has, however, given us much that is interesting; for a specimen, nothing could be better and truer than Walter Bache's advice to her as regards a singing class: 'Give them lots of Bach and they will grumble at first, and all come again next year, and bring their sisters, cousins, and aunts' (p. 222).

Rex Regum: a Painter's Study of the Portrait of Christ from the Time of the Apostles to the Present Day. By Sir WYKE BAYLISS K.C.B., F.S.A. Library Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Price 8s. 6d. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, and Co., 1902.)

THE author, an artist himself, who has at his disposal the notes and drawings of a brother artist, the late Mr. Thomas Heaphy, essays to prove that the accepted likeness of our Lord is no arbitrary invention, but a tradition from an authentic portrait painted by some one who had seen Him in the flesh. Such a task requires not only reverence and enthusiasm, of which the book gives ample proof, but also historical and archaeological accuracy, in which it is sadly wanting. We may cite as an instance the reference to a certain picture at Genoa, ascribed to St. Luke, and said to have been sent by our Lord Himself to Abgarus (not Agbarus) of Edessa. 'The history of this picture,' we are told (p. 46), 'goes back at least to the middle of the second century, when it was believed to be authentic.' We know nothing of the history of this picture; but the first reference to the correspondence between our Lord and Abgar is in Eusebius, about A.D. 315, and the first mention of a picture is in the more recent *Doctrina Addae*, where it is said to have been painted not by Luke,

but by Ananias. Such random statements would discredit a stronger cause.

None of the extant portraits can be brought into or even near the possible lifetime of any one who may have seen the Lord. Probably the earliest instances which Sir W. Bayliss adduces are certain fragments of glass vessels enclosing a leaf of gold which have been found embedded in cement in the Roman catacombs. Assuming that these vessels were chalices, and asserting that the use of glass chalices was forbidden in the second century, the author infers that these relics are earlier than that date. But we are not aware of any better authority for the prohibition of the use of glass for the purpose than Honorius of Autun, in the twelfth century, who says that, as Zephyrinus had substituted glass chalices for wooden, so Urban had ordained the use of silver or gold. The use of glass, if forbidden, certainly did not cease. Moreover it is a wide gap between the death of our Lord and the accession of Urban in 223. Next come the paintings in the catacombs, of which the most important perhaps is that in the catacomb of St. Calistus, or rather of Domitilla, of which an admirable drawing is given from the hand of Mr. Heaphy (p. 38). But De Rossi assigns this picture to the third century, and Northcote and Brownlow¹ to the fifth. These eminent archaeologists conclude² that 'there are no genuine portraits of our Blessed Lord in the catacombs'; and although they await the evidence to be found in the present work we do not think their judgement would have been affected by it.

We do not think, then, that Sir W. Bayliss succeeds in producing an historical proof of a traditional Likeness of our Lord dating from anything like a contemporary hand. But at the same time we are much impressed by a study of the excellent series of photographs in this book. They do seem to show that there are only two types of face which artists have attributed to our Saviour. The one is a Greek type, probably borrowed from that of Dionysus—a radiant youth, not suggestive of the Man of Sorrows. The other is that Face familiar to us all, and adopted by all the great artists, though each has adapted it according to his own imagination. Whence did this type arise? It is not the invention of the Italian Renaissance; for we find it already in the frescoes in the catacombs and in the mosaics of East and West. Were there artists in the third or fourth century—a period when art, if sometimes interesting, was seldom or never original or imaginative—capable of conceiving a type which the greatest painters were content to develop and not to supersede?

¹ *Roma Sott.* ii. 218.

² *Ibid.* p. 224.

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If it be urged that tradition compelled them to adhere to a type which had been conventionally recognised for many centuries, it should be noticed that no such trammels bound them in the case of the Blessed Virgin, whom each painter depicted just as he thought fit. Moreover this type of portrait of our Blessed Lord has been found capable of development to represent the noblest conceptions of Christ which the most supreme painters have formed. Who was the consummate artist among the Early Christians who invented this noble type? Is it improbable that among the companions of St. Peter or St. Paul or St. John there may have been one who, though he could not have invented such a type, was able to record that which he had seen with his eyes and treasured in his heart? May there not be some truth in the tradition, late though it be and discredited by absurd attributions, of Luke the painter?

We cannot say. To us the question, though assuredly interesting, has not the importance which it has to Sir Wyke Bayliss. We shall be glad if we can regard the Portrait as probably authentic; but we shall not be distressed if we must conclude with St. Augustine, '*Ipsius Dominicae facies carnis innumerabilium cogitationum diversitate variatur et fingitur, quae tamen una erat quaecumque erat.*'¹

III.—EDUCATION.

The Training of Teachers. By S. S. LAURIE, A.M., LL.D. (Cambridge: University Press, 1901.)

PROFESSOR LAURIE holds the Bell Chair of the Theory, History, and Art of Education at Edinburgh University. The selection of papers which this volume contains deals with various problems of education in this country, as subdivided into primary, secondary, and academic. The author magnifies his office and that of those whom it is his duty to train (pp. 100, 232, 280, 295). He speaks at times almost in a prophetic strain of the dignity and influence of the schoolmaster. But his words ring true, and the book has the merit of basing education on first principles, even if it is not always very clear in expression. Such books are for the specialist, and even for him such a document as the Inaugural Address, with which the volume opens, is hard reading; but they are good for the specialist in that they make him think, and get him away from the rule of thumb, which is the danger of so many teachers.

It is impossible in short compass to give an idea of Professor

¹ *De Trin.* viii. 7.

Laurie's views of educational problems. The chief proposition of the book is the desirability of training secondary schoolmasters. The arguments on this subject are sound and convincing. All that can be said on the other side is that, as the schoolmaster usually chooses his profession because he is in sympathy with boys, he starts with an attitude of mind which is likely to ensure success, even if he makes mistakes in detail; and the adaptability of boys makes them suffer less from mistakes in method than the theorist supposes.

With regard to the curriculum of secondary schools, Professor Laurie is loyal to the old ideal with modifications. He sees clearly the fallacy of those who wish to make education utilitarian, and to make boys specialize before the last year at school (p. 166). He brings out clearly the superiority of language as a training to mathematics, and he speaks cautiously of the usefulness of natural science as training. He strongly recommends the retention of Latin (p. 164) in its prominent place, but he sacrifices Greek (p. 169), and pours contempt on verse composition (p. 173). He puts next to Latin and English the study of geography (p. 200), history being taught in connection with English and geography. He has a high idea of the value of French and German as mental training (p. 168).

It is where Professor Laurie makes practical suggestions that he aims too high. Thus he would have no place-taking or prizes (p. 245), no punishments in a divinity lesson (p. 232), no participation by junior masters in boys' games (p. 62).

But, taking the book as a whole, we consider it one which all engaged in teaching would benefit much by reading carefully. It will make them think and do their work better with renewed inspiration. We wish we were able to do more than refer to such valuable passages as the following: the difference between true and false sympathy with boys (pp. 60-62), the art of setting examination papers (pp. 249-252), the function of a university (p. 109), the dignity of the scholastic profession (pp. 55-57).

The Teacher and the Child. By H. THISELTON MARK. Price 1s. 6d. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1902.)

This book is intended chiefly for the guidance of Sunday school teachers, and the first thought which it suggests is satisfaction that there are parts of the world—of which presumably Lancashire is one, for the author is the Master of Method at Owens College—where Sunday school work is regarded as worthy of systematic effort. Though the writer's psychology and method are at times tedious, and modern fussiness shows itself now and again (e.g. the Kinder-

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garten nonsense from America on p. 110), there are passages of great ability and usefulness, of which we give as examples the discussion (p. 25) of the nine natural tendencies in children which help the teacher, the suggestion about children's handwriting (p. 48), the discussion (p. 130) on instinctive moral impulses, and that (pp. 137-139) on heredity. As might be expected there are many helpful hints by the way, of which we can only give one or two here (p. 34). 'There is a short-trip memory which loads and unloads almost at will, carrying its burden only to the end of a definite stage' (p. 56). 'I never found anybody yet that I wanted to be like. Not that I'm self-satisfied. I should like to be myself—only higher' (p. 90). 'A school is more safely judged by those it fails to improve than by those it helps.' But what does the author mean on p. 21 when he says, 'The trained musician can distinguish four thousand tones'?

IV.—PHILOLOGY.

The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon and a Fragment of his Hebrew Grammar, edited from the MSS., with Introduction and Notes by the Rev. E. NOLAN, B.A., and S. A. HIRSCH, Ph.D. (Cambridge: University Press, 1902.)

AT the present time, when the advantages of the Greek language as a subject of instruction are on their trial, there is a certain fitness in the appearance of an edition of the Greek grammar which was written by one of the earliest champions in this country of the study of that language. The ignorance of Greek displayed by the bishops of his time, who were required when consecrating a church to inscribe the Greek alphabet with their pastoral staves on sand, was one of the principal reasons which induced Friar Bacon to compose his grammar. We have here presented to us (1) a Greek grammar from an Oxford MS., (2) a fragment of a Greek grammar from a Cambridge MS. discovered by Mr. Nolan, (3) a fragment of a Hebrew grammar from the same Cambridge MS. The Oxford MS. alone contains a statement, in a later hand, that the work comprised in it is that of Roger Bacon; but the editors appear to have satisfactorily shown from internal evidence that all three treatises are to be attributed to him. The two Greek grammars appear to be rough drafts (several of which Roger Bacon was in the habit of composing before publishing his works), preliminary to a more elaborate grammar intended for advanced students. For the information contained in the Oxford and Cambridge grammars is mostly of an elementary character. It does not go beyond points

of orthography (a large part of the work is devoted to the correction of current errors under this head) and accident. The longer (Oxford) grammar ends with the conjugation of *τύπτω*: it is curious that the use of this paradigm, taken over by Bacon from earlier grammarians, has probably lasted for two thousand years. Bacon's principal source appears to have been Priscian. But he is by no means a servile follower of others. He shows an independence of judgement, and, as Dr. Hirsch remarks, 'he possessed the true philological instinct; he had a keen perception of the connection subsisting between the various dialects belonging to groups of languages.' Indeed the illustrations from Latin sometimes, as when a section is devoted to the scansion of a line in Horace, carry the writer rather far from his subject.

The Greek grammar cannot, for the most part, be said to possess any great intrinsic value: its chief interest lies in the glimpse it gives of the standard of Greek scholarship in England in the thirteenth century. The Hebrew grammar is too slight a fragment to call for remark here. The editors have done their work well.

Demetrius on Style. The Greek Text of Demetrius *De Elocutione*.

Edited, with Introduction, Translation, Facsimiles, &c., by
W. RHYS ROBERTS, Litt.D. (Cambridge: University Press,
1902.)

DR. ROBERTS has followed up his editions of Longinus *On the Sublime* and *The Three Literary Letters* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus by an equally admirable edition of another Greek treatise on style, which well deserved the careful and comprehensive treatment which it has here received. The fresh interest which has been aroused in this department of Greek literature is shown by the fact that a German edition of the *De Elocutione* appeared within a year of that of Dr. Roberts. The treatise is valuable, not merely from an antiquarian point of view, as presenting the opinion of a cultivated Greek on the masterpieces of Greek literature, but also because it contains much useful criticism for writers of any age or country. The author of the *De Elocutione* would certainly admit that a dissection of the style of a Demosthenes or a Thucydides, and an imitation of the features found in the composition of their sentences, would be quite insufficient to produce a work on the level of the writings of those masters; yet he would maintain, and justly, that a would-be stylist could not fail to derive much benefit from such a study. After some preliminary remarks on the sentence and its constituent parts, the body of the author's work consists of a detailed

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criticism, with illustrations from Greek authors, of the four types of style, viz. (1) the 'elevated' or 'grand' style, (2) the 'elegant' or 'polished' style, (3) the 'plain' style, (4) the 'forcible' or 'vigorous' style. Of prose authors, Thucydides furnishes the most frequent examples of the elevated style, Xenophon of the elegant style (Plato, Herodotus, and others also supply instances), Lysias is the model of the plain style, and Demosthenes of the forcible. The editor suggests as instances of the four styles among English poets—Milton, Tennyson, Wordsworth, Shakespeare. The editor has supplied an introduction dealing with the study of prose style among the Greeks, and the date and authorship of the *De Elocutione*. His translation is often most felicitous and always admirable; his notes are brief but adequate; his glossary of terms of rhetoric, grammar, metre, and criticism is a valuable addition to Greek lexicography. We could wish, however, that he had included in the work the complete Index of Greek Words which he has prepared. We would make one suggestion on a passage in the translation. In the comment on Homer's phrase *ἔφριξεν δὲ μάχην* in § 82, does not *συνεχῶς φρίσσουσιν μάχην προσηγόρευσεν* mean 'The poet has given the collective designation of "shuddering battle," &c.? *Συνεχῶς* seems capable of bearing this meaning, and to take it with the preceding words is rather awkward. As to the authorship, the treatise is certainly not the work of Demetrius of Phalerum, an author who, as the well-known story of the Greek translation of the Bible shows, was credited with various literary undertakings. The mixture of Attic orthography, grammar, and vocabulary with the grammatical usages and vocabulary of the post-classical age betrays the Atticist. The conclusion reached is that the work 'probably belongs either to the first century B.C. or the first century A.D., the latter period being on the whole the more likely,' and 'its author may have borne the name Demetrius.' There are some indications that he lived at Alexandria.

Thesaurus Palaeo-Hibernicus. By WHITLEY STOKES and JOHN STRACHAN. (Cambridge: University Press, 1901.)

It is now more than two years since a number of German scholars published a *Festschrift* addressed to Dr. Whitley Stokes on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. It was a fitting recognition of forty years' unremitting diligence in the cause of Celtic letters. The present volume shows that the vigour of the veteran philologist is unabated, though he has joined forces with a scholar of a younger generation. It is the first instalment of a great undertaking, nothing less than a complete Corpus of all extant remains of the Old-Irish

language contained in manuscripts anterior to the eleventh century. These remains consist almost entirely of glosses and scholia, sometimes merely a word or two, sometimes a few sentences, written by scribes in the margins or between the lines of Latin manuscripts. Very few specimens of connected prose are found in codices included within the scope of the *Thesaurus*; the longest are those which occur among the Patrician documents in the 'Book of Armagh'; these will appear in the second volume. There is, indeed, no reasonable doubt that many of the epic tales which survive in the great collections of the twelfth century were written down at a much earlier period; but it is equally certain that successive scribes have defaced the older and purer linguistic forms of these texts; and though such alterations may make little or no difference to the sense, they affect vitally the very problems with which philologists are occupied; our editors have, therefore, wisely excluded such documents entirely from their purview. They are concerned only with the MSS. which exhibit the language as it was actually written down before the year 1000. Such a compilation will be of immense service to students. It is from these glosses that Zeuss quarried the foundations of Celtic grammar; it is on them that all scientific study of the Irish language must still be based. The material has indeed all been published before by Dr. Stokes himself, by Ascoli, Nigra, Zimmer, and others; but all these editions are more or less difficult to procure. Besides, the excellent critical work which has been done by the scholars just named and others, such as Thurneysen, Windisch, Pedersen, and Dr. Stokes's present collaborator, Dr. Strachan, has let in new light and made necessary many changes in reading and interpretation. It is hardly necessary to say that the *Thesaurus* represents the most recent scholarship and adds fresh contributions to the subject. These appear in the form of new renderings or emendations of doubtful passages. We may mention Dr. Strachan's correction of *anærmesuthigetar* for *ances me suthigetar* (p. 5), the certain restoration of *diúrad* in place of *iúrad* (p. 498), and the highly ingenious interpretation of the words *nípu thuc conid drfus*, which appear in the 'Book of Armagh' as a marginal remark on the miracle of the loaves (St. Luke ix. 16). The editors analyze *conid* as *co n-ith*, and translate 'it was not a "bone with grease" remaining.' This is quite in the style of an Irish byword; only would it not be still better to read *cen íth?* The meaning would then be that the relics of the feast were no dry bone (but juicy victuals).

Discussions on questions of grammar or etymology are, however, excluded by the plan of the work. These we may look for, should the editors redeem (as all Celtic students must devoutly hope they

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may) the half-promise made in their preface that they will publish a third volume containing an Old-Irish lexicon. For such an undertaking no happier combination could be imagined than Dr. Stokes's vast knowledge of the language and its literature allied to Dr. Strachan's scientific spirit and critical acumen. In the meantime the *Thesaurus* itself contains on each page, first, the lemmata from the Latin codices; second, the Irish glosses thereon; third, a translation of such of these glosses as are not mere equivalents of the words glossed; fourth, textual and other notes. A dozen pages of addenda take account of the most recent literature up to the moment of publication.

This volume consists entirely of 'biblical glosses and scholia,' non-biblical matter being reserved for the second volume. In arranging their material the editors have followed the order of the books of the Bible to which the glosses relate, thus avoiding the controversies which still rage as to the relative ages of the manuscripts. The evidence on this question is summarized in their 'Description of the MSS.' By far the largest part of the volume (477 pages out of 727) is occupied by the 'Milan glosses,' which elucidate a commentary on the Psalms, copied probably in the ninth century by a monk named Diarmait; the manuscript belongs to the Ambrosian library. Next to these in extent, perhaps superior to them in linguistic value, stand the Würzburg glosses on the Epistles.

The value of these glosses is, of course, almost entirely linguistic; it is only indirectly that they have any human or historical interest. They were written by Irish monks, of those who were scattered far and wide among the monasteries of Europe from the seventh century onwards, who copied these and so many other MSS. at St. Gall, at Bobbio, at Reichenau, in Carinthia, who knows where? Pious, industrious men, they transcribed diligently for the glory of God and the preservation of learning, misspelling the Latin as their native accent prompted, adding their marginal notes here and there for the instruction of their countrymen and fellow-students and the future joy of German philologists. Rarely would one of them, hearing the thrush's note outside his cell, be tempted (like the monk of St. Gall) to answer the bird with an Irish *rann*, or celebrate (like the scribe at St. Paul's Monastery, in Carinthia) the prowess of his white cat, Pangur Bán.

Yet anyone who sets himself to realize the early civilization of Ireland must consider what is implied by the existence of these glosses—what level of culture, what external influences, what acquaintance with classical tradition, what experience of foreign lands

and other manners. There is, we believe, little direct evidence that the studious class in Ireland had any first-hand knowledge of the great secular literature of Rome, still less of Greece; they seem to have confined themselves almost entirely to the patristic writings. Which of the Fathers were best known to them, and through what works, it would be interesting to determine, but the inquiry has not as yet been pursued with any thoroughness.

We venture to add a few notes on points of detail.

Page 4: The gloss on Psalm lxx. [lxxi] 18, '*tempus-1. diblde*, is given without explanation. It appears from Zimmer's *Glossae Hibernicae* (p. 210) to be added in the margin and refers to *senium*, which the glossator apparently took to be an adjective and therefore added *tempus*. *Diblde* is presumably the Latin *debilitas*. O'Reilly's *Dictionary* gives the meaning 'second childhood.'

Page 5: *glasar*, which glosses the words *dedit erugini fructus eorum*, is rendered hesitatingly 'rust.' May it not be *glas-ár*, 'destruction of green things, blight,' a compound similar to *bó-ár*, 'cattle-plague, murrain'?

Page 161: On Psalm xxxii. [xxxiii.] 5, the Latin commentator writes *ab speciali laude misericordiae Dei convertitur ad universalem eius bonitatis praedicationem*, on which the glossator remarks, *conruthot huilidetaid a precepta do thaidhsin sainemlae dae*. This is rendered 'he turned from the universality of his teaching to show forth the excellence of God' (with the emendation *hua huilidetaid*). But it seems clear that *sainemlae dae* must refer to *speciali laude*, as *huilidetaid a precepta* to *universalem praedicationem*. The meaning seems to be 'he had turned aside from the generality of his teaching to show forth the special qualities of God [and now returns from the special to the general].' This would give the temporal value of *ru* which Zimmer has established.

Page 340: On the commentator's words *ut--corpora--avibus et bestiarum dentibus non paterent* we have the gloss *coniptis ersoilcithi* i. i. *coniptis erlama*, which is rendered 'that they might not be opened, i.e. that they might not be ready.' This is meaningless: translate rather 'that they should not be exposed, that is, that they should not be in reach [of birds and beasts].' *Erlam* seems equivalent to *πρόχειρος* with the meanings 'at hand, in reach, ready.'

Page 341: Should not the glosses numbered 11 and 12 be read as one? *is tú remfolaing*, 'it is thou who preventest.'

Page 489, gloss 80: *ralasom* is translated oddly, 'He has put it'; why not 'He has uttered it'?

Page 528: St. Paul says (Rom. xi. 22), 'Behold therefore the

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goodness and severity of God—towards thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.' On the word 'otherwise (*alioquin*)' the glossator writes *is ferr menne friss*, which is rendered 'better is (thy) mind towards Him,' and Dr. Strachan adds a note, 'This seems to be some idiomatic expression translating *alioquin*.' Is it not simpler to understand the phrase as a general comment on the passage? 'it is better to have a mind inclined towards Him, otherwise,' &c.

Page 592: The words *adiuvantibus vobis* are glossed *afotegidsi*. 'This seems corrupt,' say the editors; but *fotegidsi* may very well be a literal equivalent of *subvenite*.

Page 612: St. Paul's words (2 Cor. x. 11), 'Such as we are in word by letters when we are absent, such will we also be in deed when we are present,' are glossed *ammi tuainge ar mbrethre*. The editors translate 'we are potent in our word.' Rather, 'we are able to maintain our word.'

V.—NEW TESTAMENT.

Addresses on the Revised Version of Holy Scripture. By C. J.

ELLICOTT, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Hon. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (London: S.P.C.K., 1901.)

A CHANGE has been gradually taking place in the mind of the Church with regard to the Revised Version. The permission to use it in public worship has been acted on in many places. Many students, who for some time were annoyed by changes which seemed to them trifling, or critical of what seemed to them mistakes, have come to recognize that the real theological gain offered by this version does outweigh such considerations. These addresses, which it is superfluous to praise, appear just at the right time. The veteran scholar and theologian, who was himself, as chairman, present at 405 out of 407 meetings of the New Testament Company, who shared in the revision of the Apocrypha, and to whose conviction and energy the beginning of the work was largely due, has given us, in lucid and dignified language, the history of the Revision, a defence of its faithfulness, and a plea for its use in churches. In this plea the Bishop speaks as well as the scholar, and his earnest sincerity has as much weight as his temperate reasoning. Not the least important part of the addresses are the practical directions about the proper way of introducing the use of the Revised Version into the services of a church. In this chapter, perhaps especially, the reader will admire the wisdom of a spiritual Father, who loves the brethren as he desires the glory of God.

The Twentieth-Century New Testament: a Translation into Modern English, made from the Original Greek (Westcott and Hort's text). Price 3s. 6d. (London: Marshall and Son; America: The Fleming H. Revell Company, 1901.)

THIS translation is now completed by the addition of the Pastoral, Personal, and General letters, and the Revelation, and the whole is published in one convenient volume. It is issued as a tentative edition only, and there will therefore be an opportunity of correcting a few slips, such as the omission of a clause in 2 Pet. i. 7. As a mere translation it fails to some extent, because it includes so much interpretation. The modern English too of the translators is, after all, further from the vulgar tongue than is the English of the Revised Version, and it would be a mistake to suppose that it will make the same kind of impression on the minds of most men as the Greek did on the original readers. At the same time it is probable that to a section of the English-speaking people the New Testament will come with a fresh force and reality in this form, and the book may be used by all as a valuable aid to study.

The Study of the Gospels. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of Westminster. 'Handbooks for the Clergy.' Price 2s. 6d. net. (London: Longmans, 1902.)

THIS book should be welcomed alike by those who find it difficult to keep fresh in the matter of special study when they are cut off from fellow students and by those who desire help in attempting to gain acquaintance with the present methods of studying the Gospels. The former will find here a restatement of these methods, which, although it does not deal systematically with divergent opinions, yet furnishes many points of detail which will awaken fresh inquiry. At the same time others will find a clear presentation of the lines to be followed in a literary and historical study of the authorship and composition of the Gospels. After an introductory lecture on the dates and origin of the Synoptic Gospels we are taken to them as they stand; and beginning with St. Mark as the earliest historical record, we are guided to the contents of the 'non-Marcan document' (the name Logia is rightly discouraged) by illustrations, which also serve to show how both this source and St. Mark have been utilized by the writers of the First and Third Gospels. Care is taken that the student shall not lose himself in the midst of details, or be content to stop at this stage. The short summary of St.

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Mark's Gospel and a sketch of some features of the non-Marcan document are just what are wanted. Attention is centred upon the vivid picture of the Christ, His strength, sympathy, and freedom from conventional restrictions; and a more detailed note upon the title 'Son of Man' gives further help in this direction. Again, after the discussion of the First Gospel it is well to be reminded that 'this Gospel was accepted by the general consciousness of the Church as a true record,' and that, although the Sermon on the Mount as reported in St. Matthew is made up of several distinct sayings and discourses, we possess there 'the final form in which the divine Spirit fixed these great utterances for the permanent instruction of the Church.' In the last two chapters the difficulties connected with the Fourth Gospel are dealt with, and in our opinion the best thing in this book is the statement of the contrast between St. John's Gospel and the Synoptic narratives, in which Dr. Robinson brings out with equal clearness the evidence which makes us say, 'Only an Apostle could have written so.' The book is not one to be read hastily, and will prove of real value to any who will accept its guidance and test by it the conclusions which their own studies lead them to form.

1. *Codex I. of the Gospels and its Allies.* By KIRSOPP LAKE, M.A. 'Texts and Studies,' vii. 3. Price 7s. 6d. net. (Cambridge: University Press, 1902.)
2. *Texts from Mount Athos.* By KIRSOPP LAKE. 'Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica,' v. pt. 2. Price 3s. 6d. (Oxford: University Press, 1902.)

THESE two volumes, appearing almost simultaneously from the two University presses, represent some years of industrious work by Mr. Lake in elucidating the textual history of the Gospels. The first is a study of the group of minuscule manuscripts known as 1, 118, 131, and 209, which have long been known to be related to one another, though the details of the relationship have never been worked out before. Mr. Lake prints the text of Evan. 1 (which, it may be remarked, was used by Erasmus, though, unfortunately, not as much as the inferior Evan. 2), with a full collation of the other members of the group, and prefixes tables of selected and classified readings, from which his conclusions as to the character of the group are drawn. His conclusions are briefly these: (1) 1 is by far the best representative of the common archetype; (2) 118 and 209 are closely connected, 209 being the better representative of the common ancestor; (3) 131 only belongs to the group in Mark i-v.

and Luke i-xxiv., elsewhere being of the ordinary Antiochian family ; (4) in Mark the whole group is related to the Ferrar group, and to the manuscripts 22, 28, 565, 700, all probably representing a local text of pre-Antiochian character from some region in the East ; (5) in the other Gospels the group stands by itself, having many points in common with \aleph B, whereas in Mark its affinities are rather with the Old Syriac. In conclusion Mr. Lake makes the important observation that many manuscripts contain interesting texts of St. Mark, while in the other Gospels they have the ordinary text ; and this he interprets as the result of the comparative neglect of St. Mark in the earliest period (of which there is other evidence), whereby it escaped much of the levelling and assimilating process which the other Synoptists underwent. The point is one of real importance to the Synoptic problem, and the additional evidence of the fact adduced by Mr. Lake is not the least valuable part of a most creditable piece of work.

The second volume is the result of a visit by Mr. Lake and Mr. Wathen to Mount Athos in 1899, in which they were able to do a great quantity of useful work. The principal result (so far as the New Testament is concerned) is the examination of the interesting uncial codex Ψ . Mr. Lake gives its text in Mark in full, and a collation of it in Luke, John, and Colossians. In Mark the manuscript has a text of very early type, agreeing mainly with \aleph B, though with occasional divergences of Western or Alexandrian character. Elsewhere its text is of less interest, though it shows several variants from the *textus receptus*. Another interesting manuscript at Mount Athos is Evan. 1071, written in South Italy. It contains the subscriptions to the Gospels characteristic of the group headed by the uncial A, which is associated with Jerusalem or Sinai ; but the special point of interest is the remarkable resemblance of its text in the *pericope adulterae* to that in the Codex Bezae, which suggests that the latter manuscript may have been in Italy when 1071 was written.

Mr. Lake also prints portions of the *Acta Pilati* and the *Acta Thomae*, and finally gives a catalogue of all the Biblical MSS. which he saw at Mount Athos. This catalogue is especially valuable for the library of the Laura, in which there are over 200 manuscripts which have never appeared in the lists of Gregory and Scrivener. Mr. Lake here describes about 140 of them, with the numbers which will be assigned to them in the next edition of Gregory. The descriptions are necessarily of the briefest, but Mr. Lake deserves the congratulations and thanks of Biblical scholars for his painstaking and fruitful labours.

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Die Evangelien eines alten Unzialcodex (B κ -text) nach einer Abschrift des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, herausgegeben von A. SCHMIDTKE.
Price 4 Marks. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901.)

THE primary purpose of this volume is the publication of the text of a minuscule manuscript of the Gospels (Paris Bibl. Nat. gr. 97, Scrivener 743, Gregory 579) which, having been examined by Dr. Schmidtke on behalf of Professor von Soden's edition, proves to have (except in St. Matthew, where its text is ordinary) a text notably akin to that of the Codex Vaticanus (B). The presence in it of Arabic writing indicates an Eastern origin, and it is highly probable that, like most of the group associated with B, it had its birthplace in Egypt. It has long been known as one of the few manuscripts containing the double ending to St. Mark, and it now joins Evan. 33 as one of the minuscule manuscripts with a predominantly 'neutral' type of text. Dr. Schmidtke regards it as a transcript of an uncial manuscript written in the fifth century, though the indications (which suggest an archetype with a single-columned page of twenty-four lines, with twenty-three letters to the line) are hardly decisive in respect of the date, and the single-columned arrangement would point to the latter part of that century at earliest. But Dr. Schmidtke goes beyond the simple publication of the text. Following up Bousset's view, which sees in the B κ -text the edition of Hesychius, he calls attention to a system of subdivision of the text in B (partially supported by the new manuscript), different from the well-known Eusebian sections, and characterised by much greater minuteness in St. Matthew and in the parts of the other Evangelists which are parallel to parts of St. Matthew than elsewhere. Hence he concludes that the Hesychian edition was based upon a Gospel harmony in which the text and arrangement of St. Matthew were taken as the norm, and such a harmony is known to have existed in the work of Hesychius's countryman, Ammonius of Alexandria. The theory is ingenious and interesting, and Dr. Schmidtke deserves all credit for the care with which he has worked it out; but it rests upon rather delicate foundations at present, and the evidence requires full and independent examination before it can be generally accepted.

The Teaching of Jesus. By GEORGE BARKER STEVENS, Ph.D., D.D.,
Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University.
(New York and London: Macmillan, 1902.)

THE series of New Testament handbooks to which this volume forms a contribution was noticed in the pages of the *Church Quarterly Review* for January 1901, and two volumes then issued—one on the *Higher Criticism of*, the other an *Introduction to*,

the New Testament—were criticised with qualified approval, the comparative absence of the Pauline and Johannine aspects of Christianity being pointed out in the one book, while in the other the materials employed were distinguished from the conclusion deduced from them. The present instalment has a higher object in view, which is thus described in the Preface:

'The effort has been made to translate the thought of Jesus into modern terms, and so to correlate the different elements of His teaching as to exhibit its inner unity. His sayings have also been brought into frequent comparison with the Jewish religious ideas of His age, in order to exhibit the historical background on which His teaching was presented, and thus to bring out into clearer relief its striking independence and originality' (pp. vii, viii).

The second of the two subjects here indicated—the contrast between Judaism and Christianity—is well set out in the opening chapter, where what is old and new in the teaching of our Lord is discussed, and the kernel of truth in Jewish thought is distinguished from its accretions.

Judaism (as has been said) was the cradle of Christianity, and again at a later time it very nearly became its grave.

The next seven chapters are occupied with the records of Jesus's words and deeds, the methods of His teaching, His attitude towards the Old Testament, the Kingdom and the Fatherhood of God, and the terms the 'Son of Man' and the 'Son of God.'

There does not appear to be much that is original in this part of the volume, but the results of modern study are well summarized, and the references to the latest authorities (which include Harnack's *What is Christianity?*) are given at the opening of each chapter. From this point onwards many topics and problems of the highest interest are passed in review and discussed, among which we may notice particularly that which concerns the saving significance of Christ's death—wherein it consists.

The conclusion arrived at, after weighing the principal replies that have been given, is that Christ's death is not to be isolated from His life-work in general, and that it is grounded in the divine nature.

The volume concludes with a statement of the doctrine of the Resurrection and Judgement as exhibited (a) by the Synoptists, (b) in the Johannine tradition.

There is much throughout the whole volume to render it useful and acceptable as a manual of instruction for students of the New Testament, and by books like this we are reminded of the words with which Dean Milman concluded his *History of Latin Christianity*:

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'We cannot presume to say that men may not attain to a clearer, at the same time more full, comprehensive, and balanced sense of the words of Christ than has yet been generally received in the Christian world.'

The Theology of Christ's Teaching. By the Rev. T. M. KING, D.D., Principal of Manitoba College, Winnipeg; with an Introduction by the Rev. JAMES ORR, D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.)

IN the short biographical sketch prefixed to this volume Dr. Orr frankly points out the limitations of the author's method; his adherence to what may be called a 'pre-critical' view of the Old Testament, and his free use of the Fourth Gospel as a source parallel to the synoptical narratives. 'In both respects,' says Dr. Orr, 'it may be admitted that Dr. King's work represents an older stage of theological and critical discussion than that now in vogue.' It does not appear, indeed, that Dr. King had specially studied, or settled to his own satisfaction, the questions raised by modern criticism; on the contrary, he seems to have 'had an open mind on these newer questions,' and even to have invited Professor George Adam Smith to deliver a course of lectures to the students of his college. But though it would be impossible to claim that the present work stands on a level with books of a more scientific quality, it may be fairly said that it has solid value. It amply illustrates the leading characteristics of the writer—his industry, his methodical temperament, his sobriety of judgement. His style in fact bears traces of a training in German method. He studied theology at Halle under the guidance of men like Julius Müller, Tholuck, and Neander; and whatever may have been his limitations it is evident, as Dr. Orr remarks, that 'he had the keenness to perceive, what all indications corroborate, that it is about the thoughts and words of Christ Himself that the battles of theology in this new age will have to be fought.'

Dr. King's subject is 'Biblical theology as embraced in the personal teachings of Jesus Christ.' Towards the end of the volume there is a tendency, perhaps inevitable, to enlarge the scope of the inquiry, and the chapters on 'justification' and 'sanctification' practically involve a consideration of the teaching of the New Testament taken as a whole. Speaking generally, however, the survey is strictly confined to 'the personal teachings of the Saviour,' which Dr. King rightly regards as constituting 'the ultimate basis of authority in regard to things Divine and Spiritual.' These teachings are examined with most praiseworthy thoroughness and freedom from dogmatic prepossession, nor would it be fair to complain that the

treatment is, as we have said, 'pre-critical,' and that some subjects (notably that of the Sacraments) are dealt with in a regrettably slight and meagre fashion, when the points of central importance are worked out with such conscientious thoroughness.

There is little to be said in regard to the substance of Dr. King's treatise. He is invariably cautious, reverent, and moderate in his doctrinal statements, and one attractive feature of his work is the candour and fairness with which he describes the views of those from whom he finds himself compelled to dissent. We may mention particularly his brief comment on modern 'Kenoticism,' his gentle but persuasive criticism of Dr. Fairbairn's view of the relation subsisting between the Church and the Kingdom of God, and his discussion of a theory of justification which he himself rejects. There are many passages too which show that Dr. King was able to take a comprehensive survey of a many-sided doctrine, and to give due weight to its various elements or aspects. In this connection we should select the following as a typical passage :

'We are forced to the conclusion, then, that there is no adequate explanation of the Saviour's sufferings, as these are disclosed to us in His own words and in the statements of the gospels regarding them, which does not take account of the unique relation to man and to sin in man which He sustains, and of the penal character which His sufferings in consequence assume. He comes into the world not simply as a man, or even as a sinless man, but as the Son of Man ; He identifies Himself with man before God. As a result He comes not simply into a sympathetic but into a real relation with the sin, the guilt of man. He does not simply feel it as if it were His own. In a very real sense, though of course not in that of personal blameworthiness, it is His own, being the sin, the guilt of those with whom He has in the incarnation made Himself one. He feels its heinousness as only an absolutely pure nature can do. He acknowledges the justice of its condemnation in suffering not only through it, but for it ; He bears its penalty in dying.'

This passage is a good example of Dr. King's fine reserve in stating conclusions arrived at only after unsparing thought. The book is one that will repay study, mainly because of the spirit which it exhibits—a spirit of earnest inquiry tempered by profound reverence and a deep sense of the necessary limitations under which 'the words of the Word' can be expounded.

It is to be regretted that the Greek words in the book are very defectively printed. Most of them are left unaccented, and we have noticed such monstrosities as *εἰσθηκεν*, *ἐκεῖνος*, *πάση*, *μακάριοι*, *μετανοείτε*, &c. This gives an impression of unscholarly editing, which would, we feel sure, be an injustice to Dr. Orr.

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The Sermon on the Mount. Its Literary Structure and Didactic Purpose. By B. W. BACON, D.D. Price 4s. 6d. net. (New York : The Macmillan Company, 1902.)

THE writer's object is to furnish a text-book which may serve as an introduction to the higher criticism of the Gospels. In a lecture which occupies the first half of the book reasons are given for believing that Jesus early in His ministry did deliver a connected discourse, quasi-legalistic in form, illustrating the nature of the Kingdom of God and the character of its laws and institutions. The methods employed in dealing with St. Matthew's report of this sermon are illustrated by a discussion of the true contexts of c. vi. 7-15, 19-34 ; after which the text of 'the original discourse on the higher righteousness' is given. Two appendices are added, explaining why other passages in St. Matthew's report are excluded, and justifying in small points the text adopted ; while a third contains restorations of seven other discourses (e.g. on prayer, and four discourses of the Galilean crisis), but without any justification in detail of the reconstruction. Much of this must, of course, be very tentative, but it seems to us that Dr. Bacon unduly disregards the occasions with which the Evangelists (especially St. John) connect incidents and teaching, as well as differences in details. Our impression is that the majority of young students would be better advised to turn to the more complete studies on this subject.

An Introduction to the Thessalonian Epistles. Containing a vindication of the Pauline authorship of both Epistles and an interpretation of the Eschatological section of 2 Thess. ii. By E. H. ASKWITH, B.D. Price 4s. net. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

It is only within very distinct limits that this book can be called an Introduction. The writer tells us in the preface that his object in publishing is to obtain criticisms of his interpretation of the Eschatological section, and that he hopes eventually to publish a complete commentary. As an introduction to his special subject he gives a sketch of the Thessalonian Church, gathered from the Acts and these Epistles ; and then reviews external and internal evidence bearing upon the question of authenticity. The discussion of the chief difficulties is good and thorough, but in c. 1. sufficient allowance is not made for the incompleteness of the account in the Acts ; and we doubt whether the somewhat elaborate explanation of the quotation in Polycarp's Epistle is really necessary. Mr. Askwith may be right in supposing that St. Paul's Eschatological teaching had been

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an interpretation of our Lord's predictions (cf. Matt. xxiv.), in the light of the circumstances of his own time; but we are not convinced that the circumstances in St. Paul's mind were the restless opposition of the Jews to the Romans, caused by Emperor-worship (ἡ ἀνομία), and that he expected this to culminate in rebellion (ἡ ἀποστασία) after the death of Claudius (ὁ κατέχων). The passage must surely be taken in connexion with c. i., which suggests a very different explanation.

St. Paul and the Roman Law, and other Studies on the Origin of the Form of Doctrine. By W. E. BALL, LL.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1901.)

THIS is an interesting collection of essays, some of which have already appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, dealing with several important, if somewhat disconnected, subjects. They are (1) the influence of Roman law on St. Paul, on Church formularies, and on Ante-Nicene theology; (2) St. John and Philo Judaeus; (3) the quotations in the New Testament from canonical and uncanonical writings.

In the earlier essays St. Paul's acquaintance with Roman law is deduced principally from his use of the metaphors of adoption and inheritance, and from the allusion to a law concerning guardianship in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. The two following chapters trace the survival of the Roman *stipulatio* in the Baptismal service and other Church offices, and the contributions to theology of Tertullian, the greatest lawyer among the early Fathers. Dr. Ball's intimate knowledge of Roman law enables him to throw out many suggestive hints in these chapters. We may mention in particular the parallel drawn (p. 34 f.) between the relation of the later and more equitable Praetorian law to the ancient and more rigid Quiritarian law, and, on the other hand, the relation between 'the law of Christ' and the law of Moses; 'at the period when St. Paul wrote, and for some time previously, Roman jurisprudence had been deeply engaged with a problem analogous to that which perplexed the early Church.' Interesting also is the sketch (pp. 52 ff.) of the gradual development of the ante-chamber of the jurisconsult into the class-room of the school of rhetoric. With regard to the subject which gives the book its title (it does not occupy more than thirty-seven pages), it must be confessed that the Apostle's knowledge of Roman law is by no means so certainly established, in the opinion of eminent New Testament critics, as Dr. Ball would lead us to suppose. Because adoption was practically unknown among the Jews, while it was a familiar phenomenon in the Roman

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world, it cannot at once be assumed that St. Paul is necessarily thinking of Roman law. The word *υιοθεσία* and the practice of adoption were common also in the Hellenistic world;¹ and Professor Ramsay, in his *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, has given strong reasons for supposing that it is the Greek, and not the Roman, form of adoption that is alluded to. The difficulty of reconciling the language used in Gal. iv. 1, 2, of 'the time appointed of the father' (ἡ προθεσμία), with Roman law, in which the term of the guardian's office was fixed by statute and the *curator* was not appointed by the will of the father, has been pointed out by Lightfoot and Ramsay. The latter writer finds the explanation of the passage in Syrian (Seleucid) law (*op. cit.* p. 393). It is to be regretted that Dr. Ball, in revising his earlier essay, has not endeavoured to meet the criticisms to which his theory has been subjected by Professor Ramsay.

In his chapters on St. John and Philo Judaeus Dr. Ball maintains that 'the doctrine of the Logos was unquestionably derived from an Alexandrian source.' He argues that the intercourse between Alexandria and Judaea was intimate and continuous, that Philo's writings consequently had a rapid circulation, and that the Hellenists of Jerusalem would form a natural channel of communication; and he is inclined to see indications that the Apostle's express purpose was 'to correct, or rather to complete, the doctrine of the philosopher.' It does not appear whether Dr. Ball has weighed the arguments by which the late Bishop of Durham was led to the conclusion that it was the *Memra* of the Targumists, or rather of the oral tradition which they inherited from an earlier age, which was the basis of the Apostle's language, and that 'the teaching of St. John is characteristically Hebraic and not Alexandrian,' while 'it is not intelligible as an application or a continuation of the teaching of Philo' (Westcott, *St. John*, pp. xvi-xviii). But we cannot think that those arguments have been overthrown. It is by no means improbable that Philo's doctrine on the Logos had found its way to Palestine and Ephesus at the time when the Fourth Gospel was written, and it is conceivable that St. John's phraseology may have been partly determined by the fact that 'in both Jewish and Gentile circles the term was familiar';² but a more direct dependence on Alexandrian doctrine we should not be inclined to admit. The theory that the author of the Book of Wisdom is rather later than and indebted to Philo (p. 104) also requires stronger support than is here given to it.

¹ See Hicks, 'St. Paul and Hellenism,' in *Studia Biblica*, iv. 8.

² Article 'Logos,' in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

In the concluding chapters on New Testament quotations from deuterо-canonical and uncanonical Scripture Dr. Ball rightly emphasizes the importance of these apocryphal writings, the true value of which for New Testament exegesis has only in recent years begun to be understood. The story of the recovery of the Book of Enoch is retold, and the New Testament parallels enumerated. On p. 176 the suggestion that the New Testament doctrine of election may be 'founded on hints contained in Isaiah, expanded and amplified in the pages of Enoch,' might have been illustrated by a reference to the opening verses of the Epistle to the Ephesians, where the description of the elect as chosen 'before the foundation of the world,' 'according to the good pleasure' of God, and the mention of 'the lot' or 'inheritance' which is reserved for them, find close parallels in the section of Enoch known as the Similitudes. The case for the use of the Book of Wisdom in the New Testament, particularly in the central group of St. Paul's Epistles, is much stronger than as here stated.¹ The date assigned to 2 Esdras (p. 157), 'some thirty or forty years before the Christian era,' is too early; most critics are now agreed that the book falls somewhere between 70 and 100 A.D. A reference might perhaps have been expected (p. 188) to the fragments of a Coptic Apocalypse of Elias recently edited by Steindorff, and (p. 205) to the fragment of the 'Penitence of Jannes and Jambres' which Dr. James brought to light in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for July 1901. On p. 177 the striking parallel from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Reuben 5) to 1 Cor. xi. 10, 'because of the angels,' should certainly have been quoted.

In several passages an exact reference would have been useful, e.g. on pp. 107 and 109 (Philo), p. 142 (Aristotle's *Politics*), p. 186 ('a later writer'). On p. 129 the site of the Jewish temple in Egypt is given as 'Onion near Memphis.' Is not this name due to a misunderstanding of Josephus? The district was loosely called after the founder of the temple 'the region of Onias' (τὴν Ὀνίου χώραν λεγομένην, *Jos. Ant.* xiv. 8, 1), but the actual name of the locality was Leontopolis.

While fully appreciating the originality and suggestiveness of much that is contained in these essays of Dr. Ball, we think that their usefulness would have been considerably increased if a somewhat larger space had been devoted to the several topics discussed, and more account had been taken of some recent criticism.

¹ See especially Grafe's monograph ('Das Verhältniss des paul. Schriften zum Sap. Sal.') in the volume of Essays dedicated to Weizsäcker.

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Anglo-Jewish Calendar. By MATTHEW POWER. Price 2s. 6d.
(London : S. J. Sands, 1902.)

THIS little volume is intended to serve as an introduction to a larger work on *The Chief Dates in the Life of Christ*. It is an attempt to reconstitute the Jewish Calendar for the years of our Lord's ministry. This is effected, first, by an unquestioning adherence to Wurm's calculations of the date of the new moon of Nisan for all the years which might claim to figure as that of the crucifixion ; and, secondly, by a curious application of the calendar rule *Badhu*, which, Father Power would have us believe, was already in existence in the first century, but kept as a profound secret ; this rule was, he thinks, invoked so as to prevent the Passover from falling on a Friday, but not otherwise. The Synoptists, according to his theory, accept the astronomical 15th of Nisan as the true date of the Passover, while John adopts the popular usage as governed by *Badhu*. 31 A.D. is the only possible year in which *Badhu* would operate, and therefore, according to Father Power, 31 must be the true date of the crucifixion. The argument is interesting, but the assumptions made are so arbitrary that we cannot attach any weight to the conclusions.

Gesù Cristo nella Letteratura Contemporanea Straniera e Italiana.
By BALDASSARE LABANCA. (Torino, Bocca, 1903.)

THE Professor of Christian History in the University of Rome passes in brief review an immense number of works on the Life of our Lord, beginning with the philosophical Strauss, who has had far less influence in Italy than the sentimental stylist Renan. These books are some of them written in Italian, some translated into that language, and some only accessible in foreign tongues. So far as we can judge, with a knowledge of the literature far less extensive than the author's, his summaries are accurate ; but we are not prepossessed in favour of his carefulness when we read (p. vii) that tradition ascribes the Gospels to 'the four apostles' ; or when Archbishop Trench is quoted (p. 152) as 'Il Chenevin' ; or when Mr. Ottley becomes 'Ottey' on p. 156, and 'Dickersteth' on p. 158 ; or when St. Bonaventure, who died in 1274, comments on the *De Imitatione*, which was written in the fifteenth century (p. 71). We have no right to complain that the list of English books is very meagre ; yet we are surprised to find no reference to Liddon, Geikie, Sanday, Gore, or Martineau.

The author concludes that a scientific Life of Jesus is impossible ; partly because the materials are disputed, partly because they involve the supernatural, which science cannot recognize, or, if the supernatural be excluded, the residuum is meagre and incoherent

(p. 368). But all science has to deal with disputed data ; and if science cannot make a satisfactory biography without the supernatural it should rise to the noble task of constructing a biography which includes it. There is in fact a good deal of vague talk in the book about 'scientific criticism.' That criticism is not scientific which starts with the *a priori* assumption that miracles are contrary to nature and therefore incredible. It is the function of science to ascertain whether an event did occur, not to assume that it could not occur ; and the truly scientific mind will not expect to find precisely the same sort of evidence in the case of an historical event and in the case of facts which can be reproduced at will in the laboratory. Too often Signor Labanca applies the term 'critic' too exclusively to those who reject the traditional Christology. A judge does not falsify his office when, after due examination, he acquits the prisoner—else Jeffreys is the true type of a judge. Surely Renan is not a more scientific critic than Lightfoot.

The writer sums up his purpose in these words : 'I have no desire to deny the Christian religion when I deny the substantial Divinity of Christ' (393). He concedes to our Lord what he calls a 'moral divinity,' that is to say, a pre-eminence over other men in holiness ; and more than this he cannot see in the Synoptic Gospels, or in St. Paul, or anywhere before the year 70—a period about which he seems to have unique information. But surely it would have been idolatrous devotion if St. Paul had said of a merely human teacher, 'To me to live is Christ' ; nor could a modest saint have spoken, as St. Mark tells us Jesus spoke, of the supreme honour of a place at his right hand. Imagine St. Francis using such language ! The old dilemma recurs, perhaps in a new form—'Christus si non Deus non bonus.' We cannot think it conducive to accuracy to apply the same term 'Christian' to the old religion which believes in a Divine mediator sent by God and to the new religion which only confesses a saintly seeker after God.

Signor Labanca has written *multa* rather than *multum*. Yet we think his book will do more good than harm. Its superficial criticism will hardly shake the faith of those who believe in the Incarnate Son of God ; and the writer's very real reverence for the Saint of Nazareth may appeal to some who have thought Christianity impossible and contemptible. And those who know the country are disposed to welcome anything which, even in the way of denial, may attract attention to the name and the claims of Jesus Christ.

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The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. IV. No. 16. July 1903. Macmillan and Co.). 'Robert Campbell Moberly,' by W. Sanday. 'The King of Tyre in Ezekiel xxviii.,' by A. A. Bevan. 'Palaeography and its Uses,' by A. Souter. 'The Greek Monasteries in South Italy (II.),' by K. Lake. 'The Purpose of the Transfiguration,' by R. Holmes. 'The Lucan Account of the Institution of the Lord's Supper,' by H. E. D. Blakiston. The writer contends that either the Lucan narrative and that of St. Paul and the Synoptists are independent traditions of different stages of the same scene, or priority must be assigned to the former. 'On the Early Texts of the Roman Canon,' by E. Bishop. 'The Greek Translators of the Prophetic Books (III.),' by H. St. J. Thackeray. 'Notes on the Succession of the Bishops of St. Andrews (I.),' by Bishop Dowden. 'The Punctuation of St. John i. 3-4 in the Peshitto,' by G. H. Gwilliam. 'A Possible View of Rom. x. 13-21,' by W. Spicer Wood. Reviews: 'Das Buch Henoch' (Flemming and Radermacher), by R. H. Charles. 'Bible Studies' (Deissmann), by L. J. M. Bebb. 'The Age of the Fathers' (W. Bright), by J. F. Bethune-Baker. 'Orientalia,' by A. E. Cowley.

The Expositor (Nos. XLIV.-XLV. August-September 1903. Hodder and Stoughton). 'The Atonement and the Modern Mind (I, II.),' by J. Denney. 'The Life of Christ according to St. Mark,' by W. H. Bennett. 'The Teaching of Christ in the Gospel of St. Luke,' by H. B. Swete. 'Did Alexandria influence the Nautical Language of St. Luke? A Study of Acts xxviii. 12 in the Light of Greek Papyri,' by E. J. Goodspeed. A very interesting study of the meaning of the names of the winds. 'The Value-Judgments of Religion (I, II.),' by A. E. Garvie. 'Recent Foreign Literature on the New Testament,' by J. Moffatt. September: 'God as Spirit,' by J. H. Bernard. 'James Martineau and Frederic Robertson: a Study of Influence,' by J. Hoatson. 'Note on St. John vii. 52: A Prophet or The Prophet,' by A. Carr. Argues for the latter rendering and a reference to Deut. xviii. 15-19. 'Missionary Methods in the Times of the Apostles (III.),' by Th. Zahn.

The Critical Review (Vol. XIII. No. 4. July 1903. Williams and Norgate). 'The Title *Catholic* and the Roman Church,' by M. A. R. Tucker. A polemic against the assumption of the title by Anglicans. 'Recent Theological Controversy in the Norwegian Church,' by J. Beveridge. The conflict between the old Lutheranism and the 'New Preaching.' 'Mallock's *Religion as a Credible Doctrine*,' by H. Hayman. Mallock's argument is vitiated by a neglect to take into account 'the one absolute and primary certainty—the mind's own consciousness.' 'Lidgett's *The Fatherhood of God in Christian Truth and Life*,' by H. R. Mackintosh. 'Adamson's *Development of Modern Philosophy*,' by J. Iverach.

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. I. No. 4. July 1903. Williams and Norgate). 'The Character of Jesus Christ,' by F. G. Peabody. The writer urges the superiority of the 'aesthetic' to the 'ascetic' view. The dominant note is Strength, marked firstly in prodigality of sympathy, and secondly by solitude of soul. 'Are Indian Missions a Failure?' by W. Miller. A reply to Dr. Oldfield's recent article by the Principal of Madras Christian College. Success is not to be measured by mere numbers: the higher classes are not so absolutely untouched, nor are the divisions among Protestant sects so great an obstacle as is contended. The native churches are becoming increasingly self-sustaining and self-propagating. 'The Philosophy of Authority in Religion,' by Wilfrid Ward.

'In the case of the more thoughtful and gifted, an ever-living and active reason, accepting the claims of Authority, appears to be the philosophical instrument best adapted to an adequate and discriminating appreciation of religious truth. . . . The mass of the unthinking must trust simply to Authority.' The writer scarcely faces the problem how 'the machinery of the recognized theology' is to be 'kept in due repair' in cases where its official exponents are averse to progress. 'Do we believe in the Reformation?' by W. F. Cobb. Deplores the intense conservatism of the Church of England, the modern abuse of the 'grand old title of Protestant,' and the Lambeth Opinions in which 'the Judge was but a legal person, shorn of all spiritual character.' Any person who appeals to Authority (whether in the shape of the Longer or Shorter Catechism, the Westminster Confession, the Articles, Wesley's Sermons, or even the Bible) is *therefore* a sacerdotalist! 'The Liberal Catholic Movement in England,' by P. Sidney. The Liberal Catholics are apparently ready to surrender the Temporal Power, dislike the religious orders, wish to conciliate Anglican Ritualists, and hold that the invitation to re-union must come from Rome. They regret the Vatican decisions of 1869-1870, and the dogma of Papal Infallibility. No information is given as to the *personnel* of the 'Liberal Catholics' who are willing to make these concessions. 'The Growing Reluctance of Able Men to take Holy Orders,' by P. S. Burrell. The cause lies not in pecuniary considerations or the greater choice of professions in modern times, but partly in recent Church controversies, and largely in the general unsettlement in matters of belief. No system of liberal interpretation of existing formulas can be successful. 'Physical Law and Life,' by Professor J. H. Poynting. 'In mind there is territory which the physicist can never annex.' 'Pressing Needs of the Old Testament Study,' by T. K. Cheyne. A plea for a sounder (?) and more searching criticism of the Hebrew text, which *inter alia* will justify the Jerahmeelite theory. 'Zoroastrianism and Primitive Christianity,' by J. Moffatt. 'The Purpose of Eusebius,' by W. R. Cassels. A reply by the author of *Supernatural Religion* to Professor Jannaris on Eus. *H. E.* iii. 3. 3. 'Jewish Scholarship and Christian Silence: a Rejoinder,' by A. Menzies. In reply to Mr. C. G. Montefiore. Professor W. B. Smith and Mr. A. F. R. Hoernle continue the discussion on the Pauline authorship of Romans, and Mr. G. F. Deas that on Dr. Oldfield's article on Indian Missions.

The American Journal of Theology (Vol. VII. No. 3. July 1903. Chicago). 'Catholic—the Name and the Thing,' by C. A. Briggs. An historical inquiry into the use of the term. 'Nothing has so much injured the Church of England in the past as her arrogant exclusiveness as a National Church.' 'Decadence of Learning in Gaul in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries, as viewed especially in the Lives of the Saints,' by A. H. Wilde. 'The Pauline MSS. F. (Augiensis) and G. (Boernerianus),' by W. B. Smith. The first part of a detailed discussion of their relationship. Recent Theological Literature: 'Carleton, *The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible*,' by J. H. Gardiner. A very interesting discussion. 'The Confessions of St. Augustine: recent editions,' by B. B. Warfield. 'Henson, *Cross-Bench Views*,' by J. G. Greenhough. Canon Hensley Henson has 'to a large extent succeeded to the position and influence of Dean Stanley.' 'Hore, *Student's History of the Greek Church*,' by F. C. Conybeare. Mr. G. T. Ladd writes on Christian Apologetics and Mr. F. S. Arnold on Recent Books on Early Christian Literature.

The Princeton Theological Review (Vol. I. No. 3. July 1903. Philadelphia: MacCalla and Co.). 'James McCosh as Thinker and Educator,' by

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A. T. Ormond. 'The Question of the Authorship of the Books of Scripture: a Criticism of Current Views,' by W. M. McPheeters. A somewhat confused criticism of the 'mental confusion' of the Higher Critics as represented by Dr. R. Payne Smith (regarded as still Dean of Canterbury), Mr. J. J. Lias, Professor A. F. Kirkpatrick, and Professor C. A. Briggs. Upon the writer's principles no criticism of any kind would be possible. 'Missionary Policy in the Levant,' by J. F. Briggs. 'Evolution and Theology of To-Day,' by W. H. Johnson. Holds that the two affect each other very little either by raising or solving difficulties. 'Revelation or Discovery,' by A. C. Zenos. 'If religion be a discovery the object of it can never be higher than the Buddhist's Way of Peace or the inexorable law of righteousness.' 'The Laws peculiar to Deuteronomy,' by G. C. Cameron. Discusses their supposed connexion with Josiah's Reformation, and attributes to them a much greater antiquity. 'Sanctifying the Pelagians,' by B. B. Warfield. A disquisition on *Saint Julian of Eclana*. Reviews: 'James, Varieties of Religious Experience,' by H. C. Minton. 'Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*,' by D. S. Schaff. 'Cooper and Maclean's translation of the Syriac Testament of Our Lord,' by H. A. Nye.

The Dublin Review (Vol. CXXXIII. No. 266. July 1903. Burns and Oates). 'Subscription to the XXXIX. Articles,' by Dom J. Chapman. The Prayer Book is 'a superannuated abortion, sprung from an unblessed union between the conservatism of the Tudor autocracy and the spirit of revolt imported from Germany. As for the Articles, nobody pretends to admire or respect them, not even their defenders and advocates.' The tone of the article is unworthy of the writer's reputation as a student. 'Modern Spiritualism: its History and Physical Phenomena,' by T. Croskell. 'The Philosophy of Church History,' by W. H. Kent. Lays stress on the advantages of division of labour in writing a General History, and calls attention to Paul Allard's *Julien l'Apôtre*. 'Subjectivism and Solipsism,' by G. Cator. Criticizes the attempts of Subjectivists to escape from Solipsism, and accuses Theistic writers who are Idealists of a disposition to shirk the problem, and Idealists generally of confusing mind as a presupposition to the intelligibility of the universe with mind as a cause of it. The writer sums up his own attitude in the dilemma: 'Either the existence of God is inferable or the existence of other human minds is uninferable.' 'The Agnosticism of Faith,' by F. Aveling. A review of Professor Flint's *Agnosticism*. 'Father de Hummelauer and the Hexateuch,' by Dom Howlett. 'The Tao-ist Religion,' by E. H. Parker. A useful summary of previous work on the prophet-philosopher Lao-tsz and the influence of Tao-ism in China.

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. XV. No. 60. July 1903. Macmillan and Co.). 'Ea; Yahveh: Dyaus; ZETZ; Jupiter,' by A. H. Keane. Maintains the connexion in common Aryan origin of the three latter names and their absolute distinction from the two former. The writer holds that 'Jahveh is to be identified in every way with the Babylonian primæval god Ea.' 'Is there a Jewish Literature?' by S. Levy. A plea for the use of the title Hebrew on the analogy of 'Roman History but Latin Literature.' 'The Wisdom of Ben Sira (II.),' by C. Taylor. 'Primitive Exegesis as a Factor in the Corruption of Texts of Scripture illustrated from the Versions of Ben Sira,' by J. H. A. Hart. 'An Early Copy of the Samaritan-Hebrew Pentateuch,' by G. Margoliouth. A description of a newly acquired British Museum MS. of the Fourteenth Century. 'The Lost Tribes, and the Influence of the Search for them on the Return of the Jews to England,' by A. M. Hyamson. An historical account of

English theories in the Seventeenth Century. 'The Arabic Portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge,' by H. Hirschfeld. Gives four fac-similes. 'Hapax Legomena im Alten Testament,' by A. S. Yahuda. 'Professor Blau on the Bible as a Book,' by E. N. Adler. A very interesting discussion of the material, format, &c., of MSS. of the O.T. Books.

The Expository Times (Vol. XIV. No. 11. August 1903. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark). 'In Memoriam: Robert Campbell Moberly,' by W. Sanday. 'The Religious Value of Faith,' by J. M. Hodgson. 'Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel*,' by J. Taylor. 'Modern Preaching,' by H. R. Mackintosh. 'The Sacraments of the New Testament,' by R. Rainy. 'Why Jesus did not Answer,' by J. Reid. A discussion of Matt. xxi. 27. Because, not having used the light they had, the chief priests and elders were incapable of receiving more. 'The Testimony of the Tomb,' by Bishop Ellicott. An Easter sermon. 'Denney, *The Death of Christ*,' by J. Dunlop. 'Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts,' by W. Cruickshank. 'Contributions and Comments.'

The Edinburgh Review (No. 405. July 1903. Longmans, Green, and Co.). 'Recent Theories of Development in Theology.' Reviews, amongst other works, Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums*, Loisy's *L'Évangile et l'Église*, and Montefiore's *Liberal Judaism*. The treatment of M. Loisy by the authorities is 'a folly going beyond a crime,' but he has attempted to defend a position defensible only at the expense both of critical and evangelical truth, and in his strictures upon Professor Harnack is quite wrong. The writer sympathises with Mr. Montefiore's contention that a revolt from Legalism should not necessarily involve secession from Judaism—an argument which is capable of an extended application. 'The Social Revolution in Ireland.' Views Mr. Wyndham's Bill with favour as a step—though not the final one—towards a solution of the 'Irish problem,' but thinks it likely permanently to alienate the descendants of the old proprietors from the country.

The Quarterly Review (No. 395. July 1903. John Murray). 'The Sagas and Songs of the Gael.' 'The History of Mankind.' A dissertation on World-Histories. 'Asia in Transformation,' by A. R. Colquhoun. Deals with the extension of Russian influence. 'The Survival of Personality,' by Sir Oliver Lodge. An appreciation of Myers's *Human Personality* and Podmore's *Modern Spiritualism* as examples of scientific method. The article contains very little that is new. 'Religion and the Poor,' by H. Hensley Henson. Based on Mr. Charles Booth's recent work. The writer finds ground for hope in the reflection that so much effort cannot wholly be wasted, agrees with Mr. Booth as to the loss entailed by defective organisation of relief, and thinks that a reformation of the conditions of existence must precede the offer of a spiritual message to the brutalized masses. 'Pope Leo XIII.' Discusses the character of the late Pope as a statesman rather than as a theologian or a priest. 'His policy has been rather that of the opportunist, at once bold and clever, than that of the far-seeing statesman.'

The English Historical Review (Vol. XVIII. No. 71. July 1903. Longmans, Green, and Co.). 'Gian Matteo Giberti (III.),' by M. A. Tucker. 'Provincial Constitutions of the Minorite Order: Constitutions and Capitular Decrees of the Province of St. Anthony (Venice), 1290-1296,' by A. G. Little. Printed from the Bodleian MS. Canonici Misc. 75. 'The Name of Santa Maura,' by W. Miller. 'Linacre and Latimer in Italy,' by P. S. Allen. Prof. F. W. Maitland continues his 'Elizabethan Gleanings,' and deals with Supremacy and Uniformity.

Reviews : 'Newman, *Politics of Aristotle*,' by R. D. Hicks ; 'Zimmer, *Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*,' by J. B. Bury ; 'Krusch, *Passiones Vitaeque Sanctorum Evi Merovingici*,' by M. Bateson ; 'H. A. Wilson, *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*,' by H. M. B.

The Economic Review (Vol. XIII. No. 3. July 1903. Rivingtons). 'The Feeble-minded,' by M. Dendy. Proposes remedies for the large number of irresponsible paupers and criminals. 'State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand,' by Sidney Ball. 'Methods of Charity,' by C. Baumgarten. A plea for a more systematic and scientific treatment of the problem.

The Classical Review (Vol. XVII. No. 6. July 1903. David Nutt). 'Bevan, *House of Seleucus*,' by F. T. Richards. 'Recent Excavations in Rome,' by T. Ashby, junr. 'Maass, *Griechen und Semiten*,' by G. F. Hill. Deals with the question of Phœnician influence upon the cults of Corinth.

The Contemporary Review (No. 452-3. August-September 1903. Horace Marshall and Son). 'Pope Leo XIII.,' by E. Elbano. A very interesting but rather unfavourable study. 'Leo XIII. played with the surface of things, and the results he obtained were superficial.' The writer perpetuates the fable of the Camerlengo's silver hammer. 'The Liberal Movement in the Church of England,' by J. Verschoyle. A defence of Dean Fremantle's lecture on *Natural Christianity*, with (apparently for the first time) the full text of the much assailed passage dealing with the Virgin Birth. 'The Conclave,' by E. J. Dillon. Describes the ceremonial of a Papal Election, and holds that the *ius exclusivæ* will never again be exercised ! Quotes (as applied to Cardinal Gotti) a prophecy of Verdino : 'Upon the throne of St. Peter a gleaming star will shine, chosen contrary to all human prevision, after a terrible electoral struggle.' September : 'Recollections of M. Thiers,' by E. Crawford. 'The French Peasant before and after the Revolution (I.),' by M. Duclaux. 'Pius X. and the Conclave,' by E. Elbano. The writer thinks that 'it would be difficult to write the history of the late Conclave without largely encroaching upon the domain of the satirist.' 'The new Pope is an estimable bishop, whose intellectual equipment is by no means on a par with his high moral qualities.' 'The Indian Missionary,' by Professor E. Armitage. A very able examination of both the truth and the misapprehension underlying Dr. Oldfield's recent criticisms. Cites Sir William Hunter's testimony to the work and personal influence of the missionaries.

The Catholic World (Vol. LXXVII. Nos. 461-2. August-September 1903. New York). The contents are 'popular' rather than 'learned' in character. Amongst others may be noticed : 'Prayers, Old and New,' by L. Johnston. 'Louis Veuillot,' by E. Myers. 'Eastern Churches in Communion with Rome (illustrated),' by L. O'Rourke. September : 'Pius X. : From Venice to the Vatican,' by A. Diarista. 'The Final Word on Socialism,' by W. J. Madden. The remedy is in the hands of the rich. 'Ecclesiastical Sculpture in America,' by S. Hartmann. 'St. Francis of Assisi, Poet and Lover of Nature,' by F. D. New. 'A Narrative of Missions on the Congo (illustrated),' by J. B. Tugman.

The East and the West (Vol. I. No. 3. July 1903. S.P.G.). 'The Exiles : a Poem,' by the Bishop of Derry. 'The Function of the Layman in Foreign Missionary Work,' by A. C. Madan. An appeal for lay assistance in teaching trades and work of all kinds in Central Africa and elsewhere. 'The Attitude of Educated Hindus towards Christianity,' by T. E. Slater. The attitude gives reason for hope, though the progress is slow. A state of religious unsettlement at present prevails in India. The-writer notices that the *Imitation*

of Christ is a favourite book in India, because of its teaching of self-renunciation. 'The Missionary Attitude towards Negro Labour in Africa,' by Sir Harry Johnston. Emphasizes the danger of discouraging the Negro, if willing, from seeking work in S. Africa: 'otherwise either the African will sink into the condition of the uninquiring peasant, or else Islam, by the spirit of independence and enterprise that it fosters, will sweep the Christian Missions off the field.' 'The Native Labour Problem in S. Africa,' by G. F. Bird. Advocates the encouragement and adequate payment of Kafir labour. 'The Final Struggle of the World-wide War: a Review and a Forecast,' by R. M. Benson. 'The Place of Ali in Eastern Religious Thought,' by E. Sell. 'The Chinese Character and Missionary Methods,' by R. Allen. The conservatism, love of 'propriety,' and corporate feeling of the Chinese must be carefully studied. 'Dr. Oldfield on the Failure of Christian Missions in India,' by J. Kennedy, I.C.S. Considers that the criticisms deserve attention as representing to some extent the opinions of a certain class in India; but that where Dr. Oldfield speaks for himself he merely betrays his ignorance, which the writer endeavours to expose. 'Some Ancient Objections to Foreign Missions,' by the Editor.

Revue Biblique Internationale (Vol. XII. No. 3. July 1903. Paris: Le-coffre). V. Rose: 'Études sur la Théologie de St. Paul; II. Jésus-Christ, Seigneur et Fils de Dieu.' M. J. Lagrange: 'El et Jahvé.' P. N. Schloegl: 'Le chapitre V du Livre des Juges.' A learned study of the Hebrew and LXX text of the Song of Deborah. E. Duval: 'Le texte grec de Jérémie, d'après une étude récente.' A review of G. C. Workman's *The Text of Jeremiah*. M. J. Lagrange: 'Nouvelle note sur les inscriptions du temple d'Echmoun.' S. Ronzevalle: 'Quelques monuments de Gebeil-Byblos et de ses environs.' A. Condamin: 'Transpositions accidentelles; Jér. xli. 3-12.' M. van Berchem: 'Épigraphie Palestinienne; Inscription arabe de Baniâs.' M. Abel: 'Inscriptions grecques de Bersabée.' M. R. Savignac: 'Un tombeau romain à Beit-Nettif; Une église byzantine à Yadoudeh; Fouilles anglaises.' The Reviews include Harnack's *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* and F. Nau's *La Didascalie des douze Apôtres traduite du syriaque pour la première fois*, by P. Batiffol; Hoennicke's *Die Chronologie des Lebens des Apostels Paulus*, by S. Perret; and some important discussions by H. Vincent and M. J. Lagrange of works dealing with the topography of Palestine and of Jerusalem.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique (Vol. IV. No. 3. July 1903. Louvain). G. Rasneur: 'L'Homoïousianisme dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie (II.).' J. Flach: 'La royauté et l'Église en France, du IX^e au XI^e siècle.' A. Cauchie: 'Le Gallicanisme en Sorbonne d'après la correspondance de Bargellini, nonce de France (1668-1671) (III).' G. Rasneur: 'Coppieters, *De historia textus Actorum Apostolorum*.' C. Callewaert: 'Vindex, *Difesa dei primi cristiani e martiri di Roma accusati di avere incendiata la città*.' J. Flamion: 'Lübeck, *Reichsteilung und kirchliche Hierarchie des Orients bis zum Ausgange des vierten Jahrhunderts*.' G. Rasneur: 'Allard, *Julien l'Apostat*.' A. Commissaris: 'Achelis, *Die Martyrologien, ihre Geschichte und ihr Wert*.' The number contains also a lengthy Chronicle and an elaborate Bibliography for the year.

Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique (Nos. 7-8. July-October 1903. Paris: Lecoffre). L. de Lager: 'Science Sociale, sommaire d'un cours.' P. Batiffol: 'La légende de sainte Thais.' A. C.: 'Notes de littérature sémitique.' Dufour: 'L'inspiration de la sainte Écriture depuis le concile du Vatican.'

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Notes of a thesis for the Doctorat, more remarkable for their gross injustice to M. Loisy than for their originality.

Teologisk Tidsskrift (Vol. IV. No. 5. 1903. Kjöbenhavn). F. Torm: 'C. E. Scharling.' E. Geismar: 'Martin Kählers Grundtanker.' J. O. Andersen: 'Danmarks Kirkeliv i 1901-2.' N. P. A. Rasmussen and F. Torm: 'Læsemaaden, Matt. i. 16.' K. Heiberg, 'Kirkehistorisk Literatur.'

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